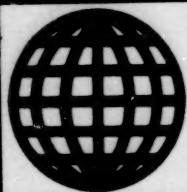


22 JUNE 1988



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

East Europe

East Europe

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Theoretical Journal Outlines SED Policies, Procedures

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pp 422-431

[Article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, chief editor of EINHEIT, member of the SED Central Committee: "Socialism and the New Stage of the Scientific-Technical Revolution"]

[Text] First permit a word about a problem that surely moves us most and definitely belongs to our topic: Humanity is facing the most consequential caesura in its history of development. Another world conflagration would mean an omnicide—the total self-destruction of human life.

Our country, and the world, heaved a sigh of relief when Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan signed the INF Treaty. Everyone could sense reason and realism have gained ground and we moved a bit closer to peace. The sense of success that comes with the treaty has an encouraging effect on all peace forces. Not by chance a change of mood is indicated, after decades of anticommunist defamation, in broad public circles. Even many people who still are holding on to some rigid notions about socialism could not help but realize that our way to this agreement was paved primarily by the Soviet Union's initiative-rich foreign policy, notably by the dynamic commitment of the communist Gorbachev.

It is a nice feeling to have made our contribution to the implementation of our joint peace program alongside the Soviet Union, within the community of our fraternal socialist countries. Located on the highly sensitive dividing line between the strongest military coalitions mankind has ever known, and as a lesson derived from history, we consider it a special obligation to see to it that never again war, but only peace, emanates from German soil. We are confronting this responsibility. In total agreement with the Soviet peace strategy, it is our declared and practiced policy "to approach things in a new way and find new forms and procedures in the relations between the different social systems, states, and regions." (Footnote 1) Also, and especially, in tense situations our party has let itself be guided by equanimity. Intent on that, unreason must not be escalated, it counts on dialogue with all whose voice is heard and whose acts are of weight, in order to help enforce a coalition of reason and realism thereby. Its contribution toward directing international relations into a better channel also is backed by its initiatives for creating a chemical weapons-free zone, a nuclear weapons-free corridor and now for summoning an "International Conference on Nuclear Weapons-free zones" at Berlin in June.

Already at the 1983 Karl Marx Conference, Erich Hon-ecker appealed to all political and social forces "to work together, regardless of differing political programs, ideological positions and religious persuasions, across class barriers and all that divides us, to spare the peoples the catastrophe of nuclear war." (Footnote 2) To the approach to the basic problem of our time that is expressed in it—the safeguarding of peace—attests, not last, the composition of the joint document between the Social Sciences Academy under our party's Central Committee and the SPD Basic Values Commission. It is a concrete expression of agreement in view of the nuclear sword of Damocles threatening mankind—demonstrating that despite all ideological and socio-strategic differences, despite all difference in answering absolutely significant political questions in the ultimately decisive issue of the life and survival of mankind, concerted action is possible.

Peace is not everything to us; but without peace nothing else is anything. While dedicating ourselves to peace as the supreme precept, we do not abandon our other ideals of the meaning and fulfillment of life. This is no either-or proposition.

Our struggling for a peaceful coexistence suspends neither the class struggle nor the antagonism between the systems. There will be class struggle as long as there are antagonistic classes. And as long as there are opposing social systems, the conflict between them will go on. It must be carried out peacefully, on pain of doom to all sides, yet it is unavoidable. And it does rage today with great intensity—partly in new areas and in different forms. The extremely aggressive forces could not dodge what is a bitter truth to them, that they could not reach their goal militarily because through the efforts mainly of the Soviet Union an approximate military-strategic equilibrium was achieved. Yet they have not given up their goal of weakening socialism, of erasing it in fact if possible from the face of the earth.

Decisive for the Future

To us that means: We must face the challenges of our time and, by using all our resources, be intent on strengthening socialism and its power of radiation, contending for its values and the ideology on which it is based—Marxism-Leninism. And as all domains of public life are ultimately determined in their development by productive forces development, this mainly also means: We have to face up to the tremendous development of science and technology by using the advantages of socialism and do what we can to make fast, very fast headway. We comprehend this consequence as a basic strategic orientation of socialism in our time that involves its destiny, its future. "It is on our agenda to tap the possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution with all consistency for the progress of the productive forces. How we conform to this imperious demand,"

Erich Honecker said, "that decides on the future of the GDR as a modern industrial country with a developed agriculture and strong positions on the international markets." (Footnote 3)

For all that, this is not just a matter of some new emphasis or another, it is a technological contest which has to end in triumph. A scientific-technical transformation it is that has to be coped with. Microelectronics, electronic computer techniques, computers, robots, CAD/CAM, biotechnology, modern information techniques and laser techniques are all synonyms of it. In their future-bearing importance that revolutionizes the productive forces they are of at least an equal consequence as once were the steam engine and the mechanical loom. For any country seeking scientific-technical and economic top positions, they mark today objectively the main points of orientation on productive forces development.

And that is not merely a scientific-technical, let alone only a technological problem. It rather is a very complex problem which to be resolved demands fully tapping and using the dynamics of our socialist society. New questions are thereby raised that call for new answers. It is beneficial to us here that our party, after carefully analyzing what had been achieved and what was needed, brought about a change more than 1 and 1/2 decades ago, a course revision, which marked a caesura in the history of our party and of socialist construction in our country. The eighth party congress of 1971 resolutely placed at the center of all efforts the purpose of socialism, our doing everything possible for the well-being and happiness of the people. It logically decided as the main task elevating the material and cultural standard of living and pointed out party in that direction through the integrated economic and social policies as the core of our economic strategy and the main battlefield. Through its decisions a turn to intensification was initiated at the right time, focusing with all consistency on the scientific-technical revolution and its organic link with the advantages of socialism.

The course aimed at the integrated social and economic policies is synonymous with our party's aiming at top achievements, and this together not with the promise that on this basis the standard of living would at some time later grow fast as well, but with the realization that performance achieved, economic progress, expresses itself directly also in improved working and living conditions.

This policy has proven mightily stimulating for our intensification, mainly through the scientific-technical progress, for it makes everyone sense in ordinary living the humanism of our order and precisely thereby effectively motivates for deliberate conduct. It is a solid foundation for linking the people with the ruling party and, hence, for political stability also. So there was never any doubt among us in all these years about this course. What it always amounted to and what will continue to be

so important is answering the question that keeps coming up and is very concrete, as to how the unity between economic and social development can be implemented in practice under the constantly changing conditions.

A Process of Pervasive Changes

By their own experience the citizens have found out that the party is there for them, is highly mobile, has a clear conception and has the strength to enforce it. On this basis it was possible to initiate more penetrating changes, and this in accordance with the conditions as a process of large transformations and reforms, purposefully advanced and carefully considered as to the sequence of its steps—wholly in the sense of our party program, which after all states: "Shaping the developed socialist society is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes." (Footnote 4)

Such changes have taken place since the 1970's; they were as penetrating as undramatic, and they keep going on. Recall the comprehensive conversion to intensive expanded reproduction, the penetrating changes in our economic structure, the development and ever broader application of the modern key technologies, or the shaping of an efficient economic management and planning system with the combines as its backbone. As the modern form of socialist large-scale production management, they are becoming more and more the motor force for the needed high dynamics in science and technology and the economic utilization of their results.

Also, remember the further development of our socialist democracy, offering broad elbow room to every citizen, regardless of his social origin, world-outlook, or religious faith, for taking part in determining and shaping public life. Under SED leadership four friendly parties are at work and 80 social organizations embracing a total of another 120 different associations and societies. Furthermore, that at present one out of every three citizens volunteers for a public function, attests to the breadth and variety of democratic life. The ever more strongly developing humanism in our society ranges from the development of socialist competition from the vantage point that even under the conditions of scientific-technical progress man remains the supreme value and ultimate purpose, the center of all thoughts and dreams, the extensive reflection of the pulsating intellectual life in public and the ever wider range of social activity regardless of religious persuasions, all the way to the abolition of the death sentence. It is expressed by improving our republic's legal order in that more possibilities were created for entering appeals against rulings from courts of international relations by our republic and its citizens.

The dynamic development of our socialist society expresses itself in this process. At the same time it reveals the blindness or malevolence of those who untiringly insinuate in their bourgeois news organs that our

party is inflexible in its policy and closed to any changes. To us, there is nothing static in socialist society, nothing complete for once and for all, as Friedrich Engels already remarked. It can only be conceived in constant change and transformation. "The construction of socialism is a steady process of creative search for the best solutions that conform to national conditions, whereby they also make a difference in the international arena." (Footnote 5) Life knows of no standstill. Rather, it calls for constantly further developing socialism on its own premises through opening up the impulses inherent in it, for which reason it must always again attentively analyze all processes of inner and external development and react in good time and while turning ahead to newly arising requirements. We have never regarded our strategic concept of shaping the developed socialist society as a task concluded.

Rather, the course initiated at the eighth party congress has been carried out with ever greater complexity in a steady and resolutely advanced process with ever greater concreteness and detail, rechecked and extended time and time again in conformity with changing conditions. It is being continued by means of the 11th party congress resolutions, by the implementation of which we are holding steady the course of the further shaping of developed socialism with regard, in particular, to the consequences resulting from the new phase of the scientific-technical revolution. It is of benefit to us here that we today have a system of socialist planned economy as a dynamic process of constant improvement and change taking place on the necessarily always unshakable foundation of democratic centralism. "It has constantly been checked in this process whether that which has proven itself is to be perfected or, when it did not prove itself, should have to be thrown overboard." (Footnote 6)

That has been and is the way our party has taken in view of the tremendous development of the productive forces to render highly effective the complex, richly jointed, and delicately intertwined total organism of the economy in conformity with the demands made by the scientific-technical revolution. Our party's economic strategy, prepared to that end, amounts to a cohesive conception, but not one that is all complete. It relies on the universal inevitabilities of socialist construction and longtime experiences and aims at organizing—precisely through the steady enrichment in experiences and insights—further socioeconomic progress by the measure of what today and tomorrow will be required.

Management, Planning, and Socialist Democracy

To that end a management and planning system was created that more and more conforms to the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution. The centerpiece for it are the 138 centrally managed and 126 Bezirk-managed industrial and construction combines making up approximately 4,000 enterprises with a labor force of 3 million. They produce more than 70 percent of the national income. We have let ourselves be persuaded

here that intensification, scientific-technical progress, and all questions of labor productivity and higher efficiency are more and more determined by the degree and level of the social combination of labor. Decisive for the efficiency of the combines is the streamlined management of all phases of the reproduction process. Above all, they themselves have efficient research potentials; research and production are combined in them. That also is of importance in as much as it has been proven internationally that rationalization means must be "tailor-made," that therefore the in-house rationalization means production forms the technical basis for rapidly and effectively transferring science data into production.

It is essential, moreover, that the combines within the scope of our planning system carry a high responsibility of their own—from research via production to sales. That has also given us the basis for that central state organs are spared the dealing with many detail matters for the benefit of attending to strategic decisions. The chief parameters for the performance evaluation for combines and enterprises are (1) net production, (2) profit, (3) products and services for the population, and (4) for export. Their mandatory lead assignment is a basic component of our planned economy.

A combine's general director—as a director of an enterprise also—is an agent of the workers and farmers power appointed by the state. Relying on the party organizations and through close cooperation with the social organizations, as in particular the trade union, he bears the personal responsibility for forming the combine's potential so that production and efficiency increase at a maximum. For that he has the qualifications and all necessary authorizations and the accountability. (Footnote 7)

He comes under the strict control of, above all, the work and trade union collectives. They explore all that concerns them constructively—as it involves their own concerns—and critically—as they will accept no shortcomings. They are as much concerned with matters of improving the technologies as of more suitable forms of labor organization, with the requisite training measure, the supplying of the workers, commuting, and the working and living conditions in the broadest sense. Thereby, precisely socioeconomic progress is sustained by what everyone thinks and does.

The working people's broad democratic codetermination is realized largely through the various forms and methods of trade union work. That translates into practice through the plan debate, socialist competition, the innovator movement, the preparation and implementation of collective industrial contracts, and the participation in trade union commissions. Without the development of socialist democracy the combines would be unable effectively to exercise the responsibility which they are charged with.

The further strengthening of the combines' economic responsibility is served by the resolutions on their producing their own means. That effectively links the economic interests of the combines and enterprises with public interests. The 1988 national economic plan for the first time has started applying the principle of in-house production of means in the field of investments—aimed at using for further reproduction that which first was produced. The combines decide on the production and use of means serving the modernization of the fixed assets. To that end an investment fund was set up to be used under their own responsibility. Channeled not it were shares of amortizations and of the net profit expected. Moreover, far-reaching measures on a comprehensive use of the principle of own production were initiated for 16 combines for the next 3 years. The experiences we will gain from it will serve the further shaping of management, planning, and effective accountability.(Footnote 8)

The overlapping aspect, as it were, of our economic strategy is its focus on still more effectively linking the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, i.e., with the truly revolutionizing insights and procedures that determine the new phase of its development, pointing into the far distant future. The key term here is key technologies.

What with all the focus on science, techniques, and technology—they are no ends in themselves to us. We are always concerned with the people and the satisfaction of their demands. And precisely because this is so, do we attach such great importance to scientific-technical progress as the decisive foundation for the citizens' further well-being. That is a task the solution of which relates not only to developing the embodied material elements of the productive forces. The new phase of the scientific-technical revolution marked by high-tech development requires also close links with the social structures, the people, their technical skills, education and culture, as also with nature. This makes high demands on people who, even in view of the computers and robots, remain the chief productive force, through their creativeness and initiative, the masters of scientific-technical progress.

Along with the upgrading of the material-embodied elements of the productive forces, however, the material-embodied premises of man's place in production also change. This means the socialist production relations are of necessity subject to constant development and change. Coping with the scientific-technical revolution, hence, presents the party's leadership activity with the high demand to fashion the production relations always and everywhere in such a way that, on behalf of strengthening socialism, they offer the modern productive forces the most favorable developmental opportunities. That is a process that has its own problems, of course. Any structural change, the introduction of new technology as the change in a production profile, will raise new questions and problems, often with far-reaching consequences for

an individual. So it is all the more important that all matters of the work and life of the working people are conferred on with them and shared in consciously by them. Full employment, e.g., is a feature of our socialist society that cannot be abandoned. Yet it does not come all by itself but, especially in view of the tremendous development of science and technology, demands a circumspect state structural policy, and that also means then, an investment policy coordinated in temporal and territorial respects.(Footnote 9) It also is linked with efforts on behalf of the efficient use of the social labor capacity, with concrete educational plans, as well as with concepts and concrete measures for improving the substance of labor. And such substance of labor must get projected from the outset. That is to say, it must be clear to researchers, project planners, and designers that they, while they are setting up jobs, determine social conditions and thus contribute to providing the experience of scientific-technical progress also as social progress and further developing the humanistic and social character of socialism as something perceptible to anyone.

Results and Requirements

Results is what policy is ultimately gauged against. (Footnote 10) If one inquires about the results of the complex approach to the scientific-technical revolution in our country, I would like to point out mainly the following:

First, we have had a noteworthy economic growth. The produced national income between 1980 and 1987 rose at an average of 4.4 percent annually. This growth pertained to industry as well as agriculture, where in spite of partly unfavorable weather conditions for 4 subsequent years already outstanding harvests were achieved with more than 11 million tons of grain each time—through improved use of cooperative property, cooperative labor, cooperative democracy, farming experience, and science data.

Second, we converted to intensive expanded reproduction. That tapped new growth sources. Whereas a 2.8 percent growth in the national income from 1976 to 1980 came out of reduced production consumption, 40 percent of the growth in national income between 1981 and 1985 came from the reduced specific production consumption. In 1987, however—as critically observed at the most recent conference the central committee secretariat held with the kreis first secretaries—it only reached 29 percent. Such a declining trend must absolutely be stopped.

Third, we have managed better and better economically to intertwine science and production in a new way on behalf of a high innovation rate, thereby interesting all partners together in top performance. We assume further production development has virtually become as inconceivable without new science data as has science without high production requirements. Therefore, on behalf of a more effective production cooperation, concrete steps

were introduced on the basis of a Politburo resolution for shaping economic relations between the combines and the institutions of the Science Academy and of university affairs. Contractual cooperation is organized through coordination and performance contracts. Coordination contracts rely on a joint research strategy by the cooperating partners. Thereby they also form the basis for the concrete tasks resulting from scientific-technical development, crystallizing in specific, concretely accountable performance contracts. The trends of cooperation agreed on in the coordination contracts as well as the research cooperation tasks identified in the performance contracts are aimed at goals of fundamental importance for the implementation of our economic strategy with a view to the year 2000. So it is only logical that microelectronics, information and computer techniques, biotechnology, materials research, chemical high refining and other key technologies are cooperation priorities.

Fourth, we have endeavored with great purpose to create the requisite educational lead for further scientific-technical progress. To this end, the polytechnical character of the general education schools was further extended with the idea to prepare the pupils carefully for the new technology, trade profiles were reformulated in line with the new requirements, and many measures were introduced for expanding advanced education (equal in rank with education). Right now, 21 percent of all employed have had college or technical school training, and 65 percent, specialized or master foreman training. It is not that the large number carries us away, but it is a golden fund, a remarkable potential of which the fullest use must be made.

Through the unity of economic and social policies, these results also made a difference as sociopolitical achievements—perceptibly not only through the implementation of the housing construction program, unprecedented at least in German history, but also in education and health, wages and salaries, in the prices, in commodity supplies, in the citizen's all-around everyday life.

That does not mean we think we have already reached the goal of all our ideals (the most recent SED congress, after a sober analysis of what has been achieved and what must be achieved in the foreseeable future, deliberately set the strategic task of the further shaping of developed socialism). It is not so that there are no problems, no contradictions, no tasks that are intricate to resolve. There always have been such and always will be. Each enterprise and each social collective will always have to face tasks that are more or less difficult to cope with—and once they are resolved, new ones arise. That they exist is not the problem, but how one tackles the new requirements through methods that have stood up in life.

Thus, altogether throughout 1987 the situation was unsatisfactory. In some sectors economic plan quotas had to be reduced. In his speech before the kreis first

secretaries, Comrade Erich Honecker critically traced the causes for it and pointed to the partly insufficient preparation and placement of investments, shortcomings in management, keeping some combines and enterprises from meeting their plan quotas and causing disturbances among end producers. Some foreign economy factors aggravated things further. A price decline for some traditional GDR export commodities led to losses of several million marks annually. And there were not only objective difficulties. Breakdowns and fires partly demonstrated gross violations of industrial regulations and technological discipline. Nowhere would it be admissible, Comrade Honecker announced, to slur the difference between good and poor work and ignore mismanagement. Precisely in the interest of all who act with discipline and responsibly, whatever infringes upon the standards of our life must also be aired.

That implies a whole conception for ideological work in general and of EINHEIT in particular. It is up to it, first of all, to effect a comprehension of the party's social conception and economic strategy as all that interrelates and provide each individual with the readiness to draw the proper inferences for wherever he stands. Secondly, it is a matter of pushing ahead, through words of explanation and the real leadership capacity of our party organizations, the practical organization of our economic and, hence, above all of our scientific-technical progress. And thirdly, finally, it is important precisely in the interest of high efficiency in the practical organization of the scientific-technical progress to make its social and ideological substance fully conscious.

As science further pervades production, the last mentioned complex of questions is likely to gain in importance still more. This involves the questions of the relation between the socialist and the scientific-technical revolution, of the meaning of science and technology and their perspectives, of the relationship between man and technology, between scientific-technical and social progress, of the future of labor and the relation between labor and leisure. These are ideological, sociostrategic questions which we are moving still more into the center of social science work and ideological-theoretical journalism, as answers to all this, after all, are crucial for man's attitude toward scientific-technical progress and, hence, for deliberately coping with it.

Political Creativeness in Terms of Our Communist Identity

Ensuring a stable and dynamic economic and social development based on the most up-to-date accomplishment of scientific-technical progress requires each country to take into account its stage of development and its specific givens, which implies of course that there also are differences in approaches. Each party faces the task to make an active, creative contribution to applying the jointly elaborated basic positions in accordance with its own conditions for the struggle and always to pull in time the switches of the political struggle and the social

development in conformity with specific requirements and the changing terms. In this we learn from one another. We exchange our experiences without, however, simply copying them, as that would be harmful.

Seven decades since the Red October and more than four decades of the birth and growth of our state as of the other states in the socialist community have confirmed the practical existence of universal lessons and inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. From this it does not follow, for all that, that there exists a universal scheme for applying them.

It is, after all, among our basic experiences that the workers class in order to win needs the leadership by a party that knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively while taking account of international experiences to any given objective and subjective conditions and while paying attention to historic traditions; for even the universal inevitabilities always function under concrete historic and national conditions and can be enforced only when those conditions are taken account of. (Footnote 11)

So the CPSU, relying on an analysis of precisely those concrete conditions in the Soviet Union, has started to initiate a process of speeding up socioeconomic development—aimed at improving living conditions, strengthening socialism, and boosting its weight in the international arena. We are aware that this transformation is a significant world historic process determining the future of socialism and of peace. We are observing that with interest as well as sympathy and are supporting it as best we can.

It is demanded of each party to find the kind of solutions in conformity with its communist identity by which it can best meet its accountability toward its own people and its internationalist obligation. Exactly that is what the orientation issued by the 11th SED Congress also amounts to. As the summation of a sober analysis of what has been achieved and what is required, it provides an answer to the questions about the why and wherefore of our acts in line with our concrete conditions and requirements, so as to serve most effectively the interests of our people together with the cause of the socialist society on the whole. It painstakingly indicates what we have to do, in conformity with these givens and requirements, in the struggle for ensuring peace and for the further shaping of developed socialism in our country, and how this has to be done sensibly, again for the sake of those very conditions, in order further to consolidate our political stability and the economic dynamics of our country for the benefit of the people. That is our national and, with it, our international obligation. For as it is of the greatest importance to us that the Soviet Union is making good headway by speeding up its socioeconomic development, because that crucially boosts the strength of the radiation of socialism and the positions of peace, it also is not without importance for the fraternal socialist countries and the peace forces that we keep proving

ourselves in the heart of Europe as a cornerstone of peace and socialism, ensure stability and dynamics, and make great headway economically.

We have a clear conception for it. It includes that we further intensify, in accordance with the objective need for speeding up the solution of the tasks facing us in common, the cooperation among the fraternal states in politics, the economy, science and technology as in other sectors, while taking into account the new dimensions of socialist integration.

Let us through a mutually beneficial cooperation contribute to further consolidating the unity and solidarity among our parties as they derive from the communality of our aims, our ideology, and our principles, so that we as communists stand up before ourselves in good conscience, a contribution through which we move ahead together at firm and safe steps along the tracks of peace and socialism.

Footnotes

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 10.

2. Erich Honecker, "Speech at the SED Central Committee's International Science Conference, Karl Marx and Our Time—The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" EINHEIT, No 5, 1983, p 426.

3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the 9th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 40.

4. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.

5. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Parteiorganisationen bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des XI. Parteitages der SED, Aus dem Referat auf der Beratung des Sekretariats des ZK der SED mit den 1. Sekretären der Kreisleitungen" [The Tasks of the Party Organizations in the Further Implementation of the 11th SED Congress Resolutions—From the Speech at the SED Central Committee Secretariat Conference with the Kreis First Secretaries], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 20.

6. Guenter Mittag, "Die Arbeit der Partei zur Verwirklichung der vom XI. Parteitag der SED beschlossenen ökonomischen Strategie" [Party Work for Implementing the Economic Strategy Issued by the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 52.

7. Cf. Helmut Koziolk, "Industrial Management Within the System of Our Socialist Planned Economy," EINHEIT, No 12, 1987, pp 1077 ff.

8. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "The Main Task Course Marks Party Work and Mass Activity," EINHEIT, No 4, 1987, pp 326 ff; Claus Kroemke and Gerd Friedrich, "Kombinate—Rueckgrat sozialistischer Planwirtschaft" [Combines—Backbone of Socialist Planned Economy], Die Wirtschaft publishing house, Berlin, 1987, pp 23 ff.

9. Cf. Harry Nick, "Truly Free Working Is 'Damned Serious,'" NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27/28 February 1988, p 10.

10. Cf. Otto Reinhold, "The Economic and Social Strategy of the SED, Socialism Today," "Arbeitsmaterialien des Instituts fuer Marxistische Studien und Forschungen," No 20, Frankfurt/Main, pp 29 ff.

11. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Aktualitaet und Lebenskraft des Hauptwerkes von Karl Marx" [The Relevance and Vitality of the Chef-d'Oeuvre of Karl Marx] Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, pp 36 ff.

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POLAND

SD Delegation Visits China

26000350b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Apr 88 p 6

["SD Delegation in China"—PAP report]

[Text] Following talks in Beijing with the heads of the Chinese Democratic League, including its chairman Fei Xiaotong, the delegation of the Democratic Party (SD), headed by its vice chairman Vice Speaker of the Sejm Mark Wieczorek, toured southern China during 20-24 April. In Canton and in the special zone of Shenzhen within Guangdong Province, the delegation met with representatives of local administrative authorities and the Democratic League of the Unity Front, as well as with assemblies of people's representatives, and it toured industrial facilities, familiarizing itself with the accomplishments and intentions of the policy of opening China to the world of which the special zones are a major manifestation. It also toured the Canton Fair—the principal export fair of China.

1386

Soviet-Polish Group Continues Visit in Lodz

26000350f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
21 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] On April 20 and 21 Lodz was visited by a delegation of the Central Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, invited to Poland on the occasion of

the 43rd anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between Poland and the USSR, and headed by First Secretary of the Ivanov Oblast CPSU Committee, Member of CPSU Central Committee, and Deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Knyazyuk.

The Soviet guests attended a festive meeting of the voivodship aktiv of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. They paid a visit to the builders of the Memorial Hospital Center for the Health of the Polish Mother (CZMP), toured the hospital facilities, and familiarized themselves with the medical program of the CZMP.

The delegation placed bouquets at the foot of the Brotherhood of Arms Statue in Poniatowski Park, where rest the remains of several hundred Soviet soldiers fallen in the fight to liberate Lodz. It was also received by the leadership of the Lodz Voivodship PZPR Committee.

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Polish, Soviet Education Officials Meet

26000350a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Apr 86 p 66

[Polish-Soviet Cooperation in Education"—PAP report]

[Text] On 18-23 April, at the invitation of the Chairman of the USSR State Committee for National Education Gennadiy Yagodin, the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Minister of National Education Professor Henryk Bednarski visited the USSR. The purpose of his visit was to exchange experience in the reorganization of national education and the implementation of the resolutions of the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 24th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. In addition, the status of Polish-Soviet cooperation in education was evaluated and measures to improve its effectiveness were outlined.

Minister Bednarski held talks at the USSR State Committee for National Education and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The minister of National Education also held talks at Moscow University and Moscow Power Industry Institute as well as at Vilna University, Teachers Training Institute, and a Polish school. The Moscow Power Industry Institute was awarded the Gold Insignia of the PRL Order of Merit for its contributions to the development of scientific research and training of Polish personnel for the Polish power industry.

1386

Year-Old Polish-Soviet Cooperation Agreement Reviewed, Praised

26000350i Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
23-24 Apr 88 p 10

[Article by Eugeniusz Gajda: "New Horizons for Cooperation" surtitled "Poland-USSR"]

[Text] "The mutual desire for friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and nations, resounded with a new might in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress. Nowadays we strive toward a new quality of Polish-Soviet relations. We strive to utilize the favorable political conditions to further develop fraternal cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU, and between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union. The deep restructuring of reality in the USSR and the line of socialist renewal being pursued in the PRL [Polish People's Republic] provide highly favorable conditions for this."

This passage from the Declaration on Cooperation in the Field of Ideology, Science, and Culture, signed a year ago in Moscow by the leaders of our parties and states Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev, is a pithy and accurate summary of the present stage of mutual relations and the directions of their further development.

The signing of the Declaration on 21 April, that is, exactly on the anniversary of the signing of the postwar Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, was of symbolic significance. For that treaty was a turning point in the historic turnabout that took place during the common struggle against Hitlerism during World War II. It would not be grandiloquent to call the Declaration on Cooperation in the Field of Ideology, Science, and Culture epochmaking. Such a document could be signed at a particular stage of advancement of the process of restructuring in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland. Its main ideas reflect the transformations occurring in our both countries, the abandonment of the stereotypes and schemas evolved in previous years.

The new look at many occurrences and problems, a look that is based on genuinely Marxist-Leninist methodology, and the innovative ideas and boldness of thought and action are providing an opportunity for an objective elucidation of all the questions which in the past have affected adversely our mutual relations. This is unlocking broad prospects for cooperation between our countries, including economic and scientific-technical cooperation for which, particularly in recent years, a solid legal and treaty basis has been established. This concerns in particular the "Longrange Program for Developing Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between Poland and the Soviet Union Until the Year 2000," signed at the highest level on 4 May 1984, and the "Longrange Comprehensive Program for Science and Technology Progress," signed in 1985.

The favorable premises for reshaping the economic relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are also linked to the process of restructuring the mechanisms of economic cooperation within the framework of CEMA, the application of new forms of socialist integration, and particularly of the concept of the socialist common market, and the reforms of the system of control and management in the Soviet Union, and particularly the restructuring of the structures and mechanisms for foreign economic cooperation.

Of major importance also is the attainment of a high level of mutual trade during the 1981-1985 5-year plan period, despite the known difficulties and problems. The granting of credit by the Soviet partner for a substantial part of imports made it possible to maintain trade at a high level and, above all, to supply the Polish economy with needed producer goods. Polish-Soviet trade has grown in volume to 12 billion rubles in 1985 from 8.1 billion in 1981. However, the growth rate of Polish trade with other countries was higher. As a result, Poland lost its second-ranking position on the list of the principal trading partners of the USSR, moving to the fourth place, after the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria.

New tasks for the current 5-year plan period were spelled out in the protocol, signed on 7 October 1985 in Warsaw, on coordinating 1986-1990 economic plans. The signing of that protocol constituted in practice the first stage of the implementation of the 1984 longrange program and of the decisions taken jointly by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

On 19 February 1986 was signed a Polish-Soviet agreement on trade and payments during 1986-1990, which assumes that the combined volume of trade between Poland and the USSR during that period will amount to 74.1 billion rubles, of which 37.7 billion in exports and 36.4 in imports. (For comparison, during 1981-1985 the combined value of trade reached 50.5 billion rubles.) Preliminary estimates indicate that toward the end of the current 5-year period Poland will regain its place as the second most important trading partner of the USSR.

This year will be of great importance to the development of Polish-Soviet trade. During the first 2 years of the 1986-1990 period Poland's negative balance of trade was offset by Soviet credit. In 1988 exports and imports should reach a mutual balance. The protocol on trade and payments signed early in December 1987 envisages their volume at 13.5 billion rubles, of which 7.1 billion in exports and 6.6 billion in imports. This balancing of trade, and subsequently the growth of an export surplus in the years to come, require considerable technological and production efforts. The quality requirements of the Soviet market are being rapidly tightened. If Polish exporters ignore this, considerable problems in selling our goods on that market may arise.

This also is why the center of gravity in Polish-Soviet cooperation is being shifted toward accelerating science and technology progress and creating the indispensable organizational, financial-economic, and other conditions for it. This orientation ensues from the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress. In this connection, the existence of a program for raising the technological level and quality of mutually traded goods is worth noting.

Specialization and coproduction represent a major potential for broadening and deepening the cooperation. At present, they account for 15-20 percent of the volume of trade in rubles. It is assumed that by 1990 their share will increase to 25-30 percent. An extremely important stimulus should be the direct cooperation between industrial enterprises and research laboratories. By now already, 185 pairs of Polish and Soviet enterprises, including 39 pairs of agricultural enterprises, are directly cooperating. According to the recommendations of the Polish and Soviet governments, this number will rise to 300-400. But this concerns not only a rise in the number of such enterprises but also a systematic broadening of their powers, through both domestic legislation and mutual agreements. A number of decisions has already been taken to simplify the formalities required for establishing such cooperation, making urgent deliveries of needed components or spare parts and remedying equipment breakdowns and solving other unforeseen problems.

A new form of Polish-Soviet cooperation is the formation of joint ventures. This is done on the principle of mutual risk and mutual benefits. The international agreements and conventions on the principles for the formation and activities of joint ventures as well as for direct manufacturing and scientific-technical cooperation have provided the legal-international framework. It should be borne in mind, however, that the path of innovations is always difficult. So far the result has been the creation of [only one Polish-Soviet] joint venture based on the assets of POLLENA-MIRACULUM in Krakow. The establishment of other such joint ventures is being negotiated. Certain projects had to be abandoned, however, because they did not meet the adopted criteria.

The economic and technical-scientific reorientation toward natural socialist partners was approved by the 10th PZPR Congress. As stressed in the report of the PZPR Central Committee presented at that congress by Wojciech Jaruzelski, "This requires keeping in step with the changes in technology and manufacturing that are taking place in the USSR and other socialist countries." An uncommonly favorable factor in promoting economic cooperation is the convergence of the directions of changes in the system of control and management, primarily as regards placing main emphasis on the autonomy of enterprises. Further unfolding of these changes will stimulate the growth of Polish-Soviet cooperation.

The frequent contacts and exchange of views, and primarily the high-level meetings of Wojciech Jaruzelski with Mikhail Gorbachev, proved considerable impetus

to reshaping the nature of the traditional friendship and broad cooperation. The statement in the Declaration on Ideological Cooperation, "We shall not bequeath unsolved problems to our children and grandchildren," is a banner slogan and the paramount premise for the development of our relations.

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POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup
26000340b Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
No 19, 7 May 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

National News

From the weekly press conference of the government spokesman. "Andrzej Gontarczyk, a journalist for Radio Free Europe, and his wife Jolanta, an announcer for that radio station, returned to Poland after six years. The Gontarczyks were also active in emigration political organizations in the West associated with the so-called London government and Fighting Solidarity.... I wish to take this occasion to announce that the Polish authorities think that tourist visits to Poland by Polish employees of this radio station are possible." In conjunction with the announced visit by Primate Glemp to the USSR during the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Rus, the spokesman said: "The Polish authorities greet with satisfaction the invitation extended to Cardinal Glemp to visit the USSR and his acceptance of the invitation. The extension of the invitation testifies to the depth of the changes and the broader view of internal relations within Poland.... Just as the invitation for Primate Glemp is a sign of Soviet realism in politics as regards a friendly country, so the acceptance of the invitation is an expression of the realism of the actors in the church in Poland, of the disappearance of prejudices, of an increase in their sense of responsibility for essential national interests."

Restructuring of steel production was discussed in Katowice. Our steelworks are to shift to the production of high quality steels and increase the assortment of finished products. The appropriate investments will be made in the rolling mill at the Baildon Steelworks, a continuous steel casting plant in the Katowice Steelworks, and a rolling mill for thin wire at the Zawiercie Steelworks. This will make it possible to liquidate the out-of-date open hearth furnaces at the Kociuszko, Bobrek, Bierut, Florian, Ferrum, and Nowotko Steelworks.

Opinions

Artur Miedzyrzecki: [Question] This summer five years will pass from the moment when as a result of the administrative decision of the authorities to dissolve the board the activities of the PEN Club in Poland ceased in practice. This issue has returned at many congresses of the International PEN Club, which has recognized the Polish Center as dormant or asleep.

[Answer] In the terminology of the International PEN Club, there is a basic difference between the suspension and the being dormant of a particular center. If it operates in contradiction to the PEN Charter, if it does not help, for example, repressed colleagues or does not complain about censorship (as in the case of the Chile Center), it can be suspended. On the other hand, if some PEN Center is not capable of action or if its action is seriously encumbered due to reasons beyond its control, then it can be dormant. Such a dormant state lasts until the situation changes.

(Interviewed by Pawl Kadziela, NOWE ZYCIE 24 April-7 May 1988)

Prof Dr Bogdan Wawrzyniak of the Institute for Organization, Management, and Personnel Improvement:

[Answer] The *nomenklatura* surely has not served us. It was not so bad as long as the party was simply younger. Then young, active directors advanced from its ranks who remain at their posts until this day. Today one of the most important problems for the party is its aging. The average age of a member of the party in Poland is currently 46 years and in Warsaw about 50 years. It is not surprising then that maintaining the *nomenklatura* also had to lead to an aging of the economic and administrative personnel.

(Interviewed by Janusz Michalak, WPROST 10 April 1988)

Pawel Chocholak, director of the personnel office of the Office of the Council of Ministers:

[Answer] It is estimated that at present we have 44,500 positions subject to the political acceptance of the executive of the voivodship or central committees (including the positions of the three parties). But many more functions require acceptance or in principal evaluation by the PZPR factory committees.

[Question] What types of positions make up those 44,500?

[Answer] Management positions in the state administration: from department director in the central apparatus and director of the section of the voivodship offices to voivod and deputy voivods to heads of gminas. In the economy, directors of enterprises. In the remaining cases, this issue looks different.

(Interviewed by Tomasz Janowski and Tomasz Kubaszewski, ITD 10 April 1988)

Brygida Lewicka, deputy director of the Section for the Health and Social Services of the Opole Voivodship Office:

[Answer] Last year 32,505 individuals took advantage of social aid in our voivodship, for a total sum of 720.508 million zloty. This year we anticipate that we must earmark about 1 billion zloty for the help that must be given in various forms. Obviously, this applies exclusively to out-patient types of help and not in-patient types, thus it does not include the costs of maintenance for individuals in social-service homes.

(Interviewed by Krystyna Turwid, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA 15 April 1988)

Prof Dr Wladyslaw Findeisen, chairman of the Primate's Social Council, on the document "Catholics in Public Life":

"The general principle is as follows: one should participate in public life where ever that is possible as long as it is not at the cost of falsehood, at the cost of hiding one's worldview. One should also not participate in structures and institutions which in one's conscience one regards as either expendable or a falsification of social life. During many meetings, which I have had since the Council published the mentioned document, precisely this issue has been the most frequently discussed. No one obviously questioned the correctness of the principle itself. But it has been proposed that the Council announce a list of institutions and organizations to which one should not belong, which is an obvious misunderstanding, since each citizen must decide the problem in his own conscience.

(Interviewed by Maciej Letowski, LAD 24 April 1988)

Dr Jerzy Jaskowski of the Department and Section of Physics and Biophysics of the Medical Academy in Gdansk:

[Question] I am much amazed by the fact that in spite of everything comprehensive research on the effects of the accident [of Chernobyl] of two years ago are not being done.

[Answer] We are short of money. Statistical studies would cost several million zloty. A government commission promised money to the health service in 1986, but the government report says that the dosage absorbed was studied in only about 170 children. The children came mainly from the area around Warsaw. We also do not have the appropriate equipment. There is a general tendency for the nuclear services around the world to keep results secret.... In turn to make conclusions from partial studies is surely risky. And so, for example, in the journal of the State Hygiene Institute ROCZNIK PZH

1987 there is an article announcing the results of a study of the thyroid glands of dogs. It says that after Chernobyl the frequency of pathological changes in these friendly animals living in Warsaw rose 600 percent.

(Interviewed by Dorota Abramowicz, WIECZOR WYBRZEZA 22-24 April 1988)

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PZPR Voivodship Plenums Reported

Workers Councils' Elections Discussed

26000322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1-4 Apr 88 p 8

[Article by Andrzej Pawelczyk]

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Committee plenary session of 31 March was devoted to the problems of strengthening the national councils and self-governments. Reference was made to the Sixth Central Committee Plenum which acknowledged that a democratic state must be founded on the concept of self-government with the retention of only the indispensable powers of the "center." "However," it was stated, "not everyone has perceived the chance of socializing authority." For example, in the Legnica Voivodship Prefabrication Enterprise in Patnow, the workers self-government is still not functioning. Barely 25 percent of the workers councils are made up of party members and there are also those where they are not present at all as in the "Renifer" enterprise of Prochowice and the Piano Factory of Legnica or "Budopol."

Many workers councils are also not fully using their legal powers. The cooperation between workers councils, and national councils as well as residents self-governments was determined to be unsatisfactory. The fact that it can be significantly better is proven by, unfortunately, isolated examples from certain regions. Thus, in Glogow the self-governments of PGKiM, the sugar-mill, the housing cooperative, and the construction enterprise work in cooperation with each other systematically and for the benefit of the entire community. However, in other towns temporary cooperation is noted or most often none at all.

It was determined that the contact between national councils, and housing community committees as well as village administrations may be assessed more positively owing in great measure to PZPR members.

The plenum obliged all party members in the region as well as PZPR organizations and echelons to participate actively in the preparations and implementation of the national councils elections campaign which, it was emphasized, should be regarded as one of the most important political events in the country this year.

Trade, Service Deficiencies Noted

26000322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1-4 Apr 88 p 8

[Article by Jolanta Zajac]

[Text] Nowy Sacz: The topic of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenary session in Nowy Sacz was the evaluation of the trade-service potential of the voivodship and specifying the directions of activity for the improvement of services for the region's permanent residents and visitors.

Despite many positive trends, it was stressed during the discussion that a number of negative barriers to the development of trade and services continue to appear. The considerable monopolization of trade, the lack of competition and administrative excesses are also not conducive to the improvement of client services. The overnight lodging base is overly weak in relation to the needs.

In analyzing the complaints and proposals regarding the functioning of trade and services, which came in the PZPR Voivodship Committee last year, Kazimierz Hajduga, member of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board, pointed out several positive proposals of improving them that would not require financial outlays but would improve work organization, and the appearance and sanitary conditions of buildings.

In continuing this subject, Col Tadeusz Kulej, commander of the WOP [Frontier Guard] Karpaty Brigade made an appeal to all those in positions of responsibility to immediately clean up the access regions leading to border crossings in Chyzno, Lysa Polana and Piwniczna.

In the resolution passed at the conclusion of the plenum, the Voivodship Committee obligated party organizations and echelons to supervise the implementation of the socioeconomic tasks adopted by the plenum in their own organizational units.

Jozef Brozek, Voivodship Committee first secretary of the party in Nowy Sacz, presided at the session.

Personnel Policy Problems Posed

26000322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1-4 Apr 88 p 8

[Article by Bernard Walenski]

[Text] Opole: The experiences of several years confirm that the "Principal Assumptions of PZPR Cadre Policy" adopted at the 13th Party Central Committee Plenum aptly define the goal and directions of party cooperation with cadres. However, they also reveal that their implementation is frequently far removed from party intentions, the needs of the country and public expectations.

Such a conclusion is also derived from Thursday's deliberations of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Opole devoted to cadre policy in the process of reform and democratization.

The deliberations were preceded by various preparations: sociological studies, seminars in 11 different communities, and a publicity campaign.

In the plenary discussion it was stressed that cadre policy and its improvement cannot be an aim in itself but must be treated as an important instrument for strengthening the nation and stimulating the economy particularly now during the period of accelerating reforms and the democratization of the country's public life.

The rector of the WSI [College of Engineering] in Opole, Prof Włodzimierz Kotowski, confirmed, for example, that the training of cadres must be complex and conducted according to academic requirements. However, candidates for managerial positions who will be included in the cadre reserve should first be selected carefully.

Many obstacles in cadre work were pointed out. "The worktime of directors and managers should be protected," stated Rudolf Bomba, KMG first secretary in Strzelce Opolskie, "because various meetings, deliberations, conferences, etc., result in that they do not have time to be in charge."

Another important problem related to not enough interest in management careers was pointed out by Roman Troszczyński, PZPR City Committee first secretary in Opole: "Our cadre policy lacks completeness—a wage policy that would make the fulfilling of the managerial post an attractive function."

In expressing recognition for the accomplishments of the plenum, which constitute a great input into the preparations of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Politburo Delegate Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek pointed out that for several years now the party has been conducting the kind of cadre policy that enables the advancement of the representatives of all social groups and all those whom we term the best. However, it is specific people who must decide whether to take advantage of this opportunity. It is the party task to encourage them to do this.

The deliberations were presided over by PZPR Voivodship Committee First Secretary Eugeniusz Mroz.

People's Councils' Elections Viewed
26000322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1-4 Apr 88 p 8

[Article by (AL)]

[Text] Warsaw: The plenary deliberations of the PZPR Warsaw Committee held on 31 March were devoted to the evaluation of the work of party members in national councils of the ninth term in the capital voivodship.

This topic has appeared now not by accident. The current term of national councils is coming to an end and in less than 3 months new elections will be held.

During the deliberations, it was emphasized that in the last 4 years cooperation between the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the capital echelons of the ZSL and SD had developed. This has a fundamental meaning for raising the rank and significance of the National Council of the capital city of Warsaw and of basic level councils. Cooperation with the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Warsaw Council, the "PAX" Association, the ChSS [Christian Social Association] and the PZKS [Polish Catholic Social Union] was also positively assessed.

In the discussion as well as in the report of the Warsaw Committee Executive Board, attention was called to the fact that in the current legal state of affairs in the practice thus far of the functioning of councils, there is a lack of many adequately effective legal instruments that would serve the fulfillment by national councils of self-governing tasks as regional managers. In particular, the acceleration of work on creating communal property and its legal concretization constitute a vital need of the capital voivodship.

Among other things, cooperation between certain national councils, and social organizations and residents self-governments was critically assessed.

On the other hand, the PZPR Warsaw Committee gave a positive evaluation to the activity of the Council Member Body—PZPR members. It was recommended at the same time that in the new term of office, this body improve the forms of interparty cooperation and cooperation with those without party affiliation as well as contacts with the electors.

The second half of the deliberations was devoted to organizational issues. The deliberations were conducted by Janusz Kubasiewicz, Central Committee Politburo candidate member and PZPR Warsaw Committee first secretary. Among the invited guests were the following, among others: Prof Mieczysław Szostek, chairman of the National Council of the capital city of Warsaw; Włodzimierz Krajewski, chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Electoral Committee; and Sławomir Wozniak, SK SD secretary.

We shall publish a full account of the PZPR Warsaw Committee plenum proceedings in the next issue of TRYBUNA LUDU.

Wages, Youth Participation Viewed
26000322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
8 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by Stanisław Zielinski]

[Text] When during a break in the plenary proceedings of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice, I asked Józef Grochowski, first secretary of the City Committee [KM] in Wodzisław, about his thoughts on the course of the discussion, he said:

"As a rule, when it comes to evaluating or analyzing even the most complex phenomena or situations, our party manages pretty well. So-called stumbling blocks occur when these phenomena or situations have to be changed."

"Therefore, it would be difficult to contend," he added, "that every organization is that proverbial 'locomotive' in the community in which it functions. Such conclusions were confirmed by the party report campaign in Wodzislaw."

And not only in Wodzislaw. In placing organizational and intraparty issues on the agenda of yesterday's plenum, the Voivodship Committee had to evaluate all the deficiencies in the work of the party thus far.

Manfred Gorywoda, Central Committee Politburo candidate member and PZPR Voivodship Committee first secretary in Katowice, reminded those gathered of this in opening the proceedings.

"It is characteristic," stated Voivodship Committee Secretary Jan Rachwalik, "that there is general talk of a party program, everyone is 'for it'." "On the other hand, when it comes to opposing wage increases in the workplace that are not justified by increases in good production in terms of quality or expressing protest against the hiking of prices on a plant's products, we let the program do its own thing while life in practice does another thing..."

The problem of small youth participation was signalled with concern during the deliberations.

Jan Polaniecki of the "Niwka-Modrzejow" KWK [Katowice Voivodship Committee] states outright that the party faces the threat of a generation gap. "But is this a question of only ideological motivation," he asked. "Difficult living conditions result in that young people are more eager to take on an extra paying job (they are starting out in life) than community-social work. Furthermore, they are even afraid of professional promotion because this so often means a reduction in current wages. This matter has to be looked at from this point of view as well."

Zenon Janowiak from the "Rozbark" KWK in Bytom argued with the theory of a lack of ideological motivation among young people. Everything depends on what is offered to young people besides work and how.

During the plenum, Manfred Gorywoda informed the deliberation participants about the proceedings of the Central Committee Politburo session held in Katowice and the meeting of the party leadership with the Voivodship Committee executive board held in conjunction with this.

Warsaw Committee on Party Candidates
26000322 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
1-4 Apr 88 pp 1, 6

[Text] (Own service). In less than 3 months, elections to the national councils will be held. It is, therefore, understood that assessments of their accomplishments are taking place as well as evaluations of their social representatives. Before the selection carried out by the voters-electors takes place, it must be conducted by organizations that recommended these people.

It is to this assessment of the work of party members in councils of the ninth term in Warsaw and in the voivodship that the PZPR Warsaw Committee plenum was devoted on 31 March. "The role of national councils," stated PZPR Warsaw Committee Secretary Stefan Stypulkowski, "is so very important because the economy cannot be reformed without reforming sociopolitical life."

The party's assessment of the activity of the Warsaw National Council and of basic level councils was objective. In the passing term, many problems in the capital city, and in the towns and villages of the Warsaw urban area were resolved. Could more have been achieved? Despite numerous difficulties, investment problems and discrepancies in the rules and regulations—yes. A great deal depends on the attitude and commitment of the council members. Kazimierz Czekalski, chairman of the GRN [Gmina People's Council] in Pomiechówek, noticed that toward the end of the term, the council members displayed weariness. This would not be surprising had this occurred following significant successes. Not all, and this does not affect only Pomiechówek and Warsaw, the councillors fulfilled the complex duties placed on their shoulders. Thus, in many instances low attendance at sessions, absence at meetings of commissions or of various groups or at meetings with voters-electors.

Janusz Kubasiewicz, chairman of the plenum, Central Committee Politburo candidate member and PZPR Warsaw Committee first secretary, believes that the party organization should choose their council candidates even more carefully. At the same time, he announced that he will devote two more plenary sessions before the elections to the problem matter of national councils.

The outline for pre-election programs should be, according to Mayor Jerzy Boleslawski, the report entitled "Warsaw 2000." From this document alone, the responsibilities that will rest on the shoulders of the councils of the 10th term are evident.

9853/08309

Elblag Voivodship Notes Decentralization Successes

26000349b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by (FOR): "Decentralization Stimulates Entrepreneurial Spirit"]

[Text] (Own information) (C) The processes of economic renewal also are causing changes in the operation of the state administration; as work to decentralize powers progresses, the importance of locally resolved matters is growing. Proceeding from this premise, the Government Press Office held on 14 April a conference for reporters with the participation of Colonel Dr Ryszard Urlinski, the Elblag voivode, and several public activists from that region.

The accomplishments of the voivodship, which is considered one of those in which the current democratic and entrepreneurship-stimulating solutions first began to demonstrate their effectiveness, were presented. Voivodship Governor Urlinski spoke about the course of the processes of greater public participation in power. Their success depends on, among other things, proper preparation of administrative and management personnel.

The development trends of agriculture in Elblag Voivodship point to, among other things, prioritizing agriculture. Thus, in that region new large factories will no longer arise and there will be no investment in "smoke-stack industries." Instead, modernization of products and technologies in the existing plants will be undertaken.

A major factor in the decentralization of powers is transferring supervision over enterprises to lower-level agencies. By now, all but four of the enterprises whose parent agency used to be the Voivodship Office have been transferred to the aegis of local municipal and county offices.

1386

Olsztyn Voivodship Governor, Bishop Meet
26000349c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
21 Apr 88 p 7

["Meeting of Olsztyn Voivodship Governor With the Administrator of Warmia Diocese"—PAP report]

[Text] (C) In Olszyn was held on 20 April a meeting between the Governor of Olsztyn Voivodship Sergiusz Rubczewski and the Administrator of Warmia Diocese, Bishop Edmund Piszcz.

The subjects discussed included aspects of the construction of ecclesiastical facilities and places of worship on the area of the Diocese. Much attention also was devoted to the coming elections to people's councils and the new functions of the representative bodies.

The bishop expressed his approbation of the measures taken by local agencies of state administration to radically improve law and order in Olsztyn Voivodship.

1386

PRON Official Meets Grunwald Leaders
26000350g Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
27 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] The Chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council, Jan Dobraczynski, received on 26 April the leaders of the Patriotic Association Grunwald, which is one of the collective members of the PRON. The Chairman of the Main Board of Grunwald, Bohdan Poreba, described the activities of his association and the participation of its members in the campaign for elections to people's councils.

1386

Defense Committee Meetings Reported
26000350h Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
27 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] Voivodship defense committees met in Tarnow, to assess the implementation of tasks of combatting social pathology, and in Plock, to discuss the state of the readiness of forces and resources for rescue operations in large industrial settlements. Committee members viewed an exposition of modern equipment and combat vehicles operated by the Central Chemical-Warfare Rescue Station and by the plant fire fighting personnel.

In Nowy Sacz the members of the local voivodship defense committee toured several construction enterprises to familiarize themselves with the implementation of the program for counteracting pathology and crime.

1386

Warsaw Steelworks: Individual, Industrial Outlook Pessimistic
26000364 Warsaw ZWIAZKOWIEC in Polish
No 17, 24 Apr 88 pp 8, 13

[Article by Irena Hamerska]

[Text] Just inside the main gate and in the steelworks' yard stands a big wooden cross, erected here in the 1980's. It is surrounded by wreaths... A little farther away, near the steel mill, is a monument of impressive dimensions symbolizing a metalworker in his work coveralls, old shoes, and hat with the characteristically turned-up brim. He is shielding his face with his hand, as if to protect himself from heat bursting from a furnace. The monument is made of concrete. Its creator—a worker by the name of Szulc, a former employee of the steelworks, put his whole heart into the monument. The "Metalworker" has been standing here over 10 years

now. There are always flowers lying at his feet, today too. Farther on are the smoke-belching chimneys, the production floors of the "Warszawa" Steelworks.

There not very many native Warsawians among the Zoliborz metalworkers. Most of them are the sons of farmers from the nearby villages, people who came from the Silesia, Lublin and Rzeszow lands. As young boys they came to the capital to look for a way of getting ahead, to find another way of living—city living. Although the steelworks does not have the workers' history that nearby Wola has, and although the philosophical, cultural, and customs differences are great, in times of great importance to the country the metalworkers demonstrate, as a class, their responsibility and solidarity.

In the Very Heart

At the open-hearth furnaces, pounding with heat and blazing with flames, we see people working hurriedly. The same at the electric furnaces. Furnaces and machines, once started up, cannot be shut down, they "go" without interruption. In the noise, dust and heat, it is hard to distinguish who is young and who is old—who is a master and who is a melter. And there is also this magnetic field. It takes one's breath away... The enormous size of the production floor and the movement overwhelms the visitor. Only on the platform, in the command booth, can one sit down in relative quiet.

The conversation with the metalworkers is heavy.

"Why waste time and talk yourself hoarse," they say at the start. But they react more animatedly when I tell them about the big money they are making, the privileges they are granted under the Metalworkers Charter—prizes from the ministry, additional health furloughs and vacations—and say that other people envy them.

"If it is so good here then let them come here to work. We will be glad to take them. We are 40-percent down in employment, and instead of four men working at a furnace, there is one. Those kind were already here. They worked a month and ran," says Pawel Prokopczyk with irritation, an electrical-furnaces master, who has 30 years of service in the steelworks.

"It would be foolhardy for a new worker to be assigned to a furnace after 2 weeks. The master is responsible for the worker's life, therefore I would rather do the furnace work myself," interjects another master of the furnaces, Waldemar Cwiklinski.

"The smarter ones leave and the old cadre is dwindling away. I don't remember that anyone from here took a normal retirement—they all went on pensions! Many of my buddies are already at the Northern Cemetery. Somehow I managed to survive. Perhaps becomes I come from peasant stock," says Henryk Cwir, who has been working at the steelworks from the very beginning.

"Now the doctor is keeping an eye on me. I am forbidden to do certain kinds of work. I work only according to the schedule and earn 60,000 zlotys."

"The ordinary working guy always gets it in the ass. During 'Solidarity,' the furnaces were shut down four times. Now we only have one 'free' paid Saturday. At one time, when someone came to work at 6 on Friday morning, he went home at 6 in the evening and then did not come back until Monday afternoon. Now, when he comes in on Friday afternoon he does not go home until Monday. The only thing good about it is that you can accumulate 'free' Saturdays, combine them with your health and vacation furloughs, and rest for 2 months," says a metalworker.

"In order to make money people are working 16 hours a day. Sure, they make 100-120 thousand zlotys, but I ask you, how long can one slave like that? If you figure it in dollars, then even a few years ago a metalworker earned \$100 and could buy a refrigerator, for example. Now he makes \$50 and that isn't even enough to buy a carpet."

"I have two small children and a wife who is on child-rearing leave. In 1978, when my first son was born, I was still able to put a little money aside. I bought a black-and-white television set, an automatic washer, and was even saving towards a little Fiat. Now when I want to take a vacation with my family I have to take out a loan, and even then the vacation is a camping trip to Jelitkowa. I put all of my "profit" money and my "metalworker" bonus (2 months' pay and the ministry prize) into a health-maintenance vacation. I earn 64,000 zlotys. It's enough for food and clothing," sums up a metalworker with 11 years of service.

"It's enough to drive you crazy. The organization of work is no good, there is a shortage of materials and spare parts, a shortage of people, we are working with old overhead cranes, old rubber hoses, and the standstills are more and more frequent... It's no use talking. All of this makes us mad. It's like trying to win the Monte Carlo race with a Syrena [inferior Polish automobile] or do a large laundry on a washboard! The whole steel mill should be torn down. Everything is obsolescent. We are 50 to 80 years behind in technology," say the metalworkers from the steel mill.

It is the same in the forge shop, in the hammer-forge department. The din, racket and heat exceeds all permissible norms. And in addition, the hellish vibration, as if the earth were collapsing. Here, too, people are complaining about the poor work organization. Here, too, worn-out machines are operating, or as the workers say, wrecks going back to the days of Bismarck. The forgers themselves have to repair them to keep them going. True, new hammers, of Polish production, were installed, but according to the forgers, they are not as good technically.

"Someone really made a lot of money on them," they say.

The one thing which makes the work easier and prevents illness from vibration is the manipulators. Until recently, rods were held in the hands and it took only a few years for the wrists to "go." Again, people were leaving, some quit, others went on pension. Now the one with the highest seniority—20 years—is forger Czeslaw Ocipka, and the one with the lowest term of service was hired 8 years ago.

The people in the forge shop are bitter and angry. How much longer will they have to endure?

No Optimism

The fact that the climate among the workforce is bad, that people are rebellious—and this includes not only the young but also the old workers—the chairman of the Council of the Independent Trade Union Workers in the Warsaw Steelworks, Zdzislaw Los, knows very well. He also remembers the conditions under which the new union was formed, that in November-December 1982 they began with a 12-person initiative group. Today the trade union has 3,250 members, including 900 pensioners and annuitants (out of a workforce of 7,200 and 3,700 former employees connected with the plant). This is not a very large "unionization," but neither is it easy to encourage a new employee to fill out a union declaration. Even the advertisements of tourism and hobby clubs do not help. The union council does not apply any pressure or make any appeals. They want to convince people through concrete actions, by taking care of people's matters: the big ones, pertaining to the entire workforce, and the small ones, the individual ones, the interventions.

What the union members want most is improvement in working conditions and safety. In the opinion of the plant people's labor inspector, Andrzej Olczak, the trade union's unquestionable achievement was discontinuance of open-die forging in the forge shop. This involved a change in technology, losses for the national economy, the installation of additional ventilation in the areas which were highly polluted by dust and gases. It is also to the credit of the people's labor inspector that 94 percent of the suggestions submitted during the spring and fall inspections of labor conditions have been implemented.

The joint achievement of the union and management is that the steelworks has complete social facilities: a decent cloakroom, a cafeteria, its own health service (hospital and clinic with all specialists and a very good health rehabilitation department), cultural services (library, clubs, sports and recreation facilities, shops, a bookstore...).

But the fact that the machines are worn, sometimes as much as 80 percent, that the work is poorly organized, that there aren't enough people to do the work, that

people are exhausted, and finally, that there is no vocational rehabilitation, no protected-work department, that the production floors and areas are not adequately lighted, and that the construction of a noxious-agents laboratory is lagging, should disturb not just the plant people's labor inspector, Andrzej Olczak.

The chairman of the union's social-welfare committee, Marian Wiciak, is probably not exaggerating when he says that the metalworker is risking his life every day. The figures attest to this. Two thousand of the 5,600 work stations involve a hazard, and many of them three or four at the same time (thermal radiation, noise, dust, concentration of gases, vibration), and about 70 percent of the employees collect "hazard" pay. The number of accidents is also disturbing. True, in 1987 it dropped by 53 in comparison with 1986, totaling 224—fortunately, with no fatalities—but this is still too high.

In addition, in 1987 the number of pensioners rose by 157 persons, including 13 who took occupational pensions, 138 disability pensions, and 6 left because of on-the-job accidents, while the annuitant group rose by only 92 persons, and those were mainly from the auxiliary departments. Although we may be happy that this is 50 pensioners fewer than in 1986, we should not be satisfied.

It is not only the working conditions that are killing people, but the number of hours worked without interruption. In 1987, the average number of hours worked was 340 (compared to 308 in 1986), for a nominal work schedule of 178-182 hours. The steelworks obtained an average wage (according to the Main Office of Statistics "everything included") of 46,000 zlotys, while according to its own calculations, it comes to 38,000 zlotys.

If we were to give up the overtime hours, the employees would receive only the personal classification rate, the seniority allowance, and "hazard" pay, and we would not be able to earn, as a plant, prizes out of profits and prizes from the "Metalworkers Charter." Therefore, what is best for the people and the plant? Work beyond strength and better pay, or a fight for nominal working time? This is our union dilemma—worries chairman Los. At the same time, it irritates us that a Polonia company, for the same work on the same machines, can pay its people five to six times as much. This is overt action against a socialized workplace—he adds.

And contrary to the opinion generally prevailing in Warsaw, the housing picture in the steelworks is not at all rosy. Approximately 1,200 people are on the plant's waiting list, and during the last 5 years no applications at all were accepted.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no optimism in the steelworks. Jan Stepniak, as the chairman of the union in the steel plant, says outright: The people no longer believe in anything, and that includes the trade unions. And they are ready for anything.

Chances of Reaching "Thirty Years"

Council of Ministers Resolution 78/84 outlined the program for the modernization of Polish metallurgy for the years 1983-1990. Warszawa Steelworks received 13 tasks, including improvement in the quality of bearing steel. The following are being modernized: the gas-producer hall, the kits hall, and the mechanical cleaning of dirty-water precipitators. Bar turners for Japanese-produced bars were started up, sound-proof cabins were installed, and working conditions for the repair services were improved.

"But we cannot throw out the open-hearth furnaces because then the whole steelworks would come to a standstill. The technological process is closely interconnected. And if the steelworks shuts down, the machinery industry, mining and agriculture, will all be affected. Neither I nor the managing director will make such a decision," says the assistant director for modernization and development, Jozef Skalka.

Director Skalka admits that the technologies and machines are obsolete, wornout, that the working conditions in the steelworks are hard, but what can be done if there is no money? For example, money was provided for only 56-60 percent of the program ensuing from the Council of Ministers resolution. The steelworks has to find the rest of the money itself. Thus far, 5-6 billion zlotys of the 13-billion zlotys of planned investment was spent. The 1986 tasks will finally be implemented this year, and the company would have to allocate 3 billion zlotys each year in fixed prices compared to last year in order to implement the entire program by 1992.

In addition to the government program, the steelworks has its own program for the years 1992-2005. It provides for elimination of the old open-hearth furnaces, installation of electric furnaces, modernization of gas-producers which go back to 19th century technology, and conversion to natural gas. In order to make this possible, the steelworks must build its own boiler plant and power plant, and obtain an allocation of natural gas. These are very capital-intensive undertakings. Lack of funds, foreign currency, and processing capacity puts this problem more in the area of dreams than realities, despite the fact that the steelworks have been given investment relief as a result of government orders. Nor is it possible to draw gas and electric energy from the surrounding area, because this would involve gas and electric shutoffs in many housing developments in Zoliborz, which is a big "bedroom" for the capital.

Furthermore, the steelworks is included in the central export distribution system and the foreign currency obtained is sufficient only for its current needs.

"We are producing not that which pays off for us but rather that which they instruct us to. We make a profit, but we could produce more," says the assistant director

for modernization. "We are not independent. Maybe in the second stage of reform we will be rid of the mediation of the trade offices," director Skalka says hopefully.

Generally, the program for modernization of Polish metallurgy is delayed, and in many cases has collapsed completely. Various ideas are talked about in the ministry, but so far nothing has come of them. Under these conditions, therefore, all Warszawa Steelworks can do is to limit the arduousness of the working conditions as much as possible, especially the hardships stemming from the obsolete technologies. But is this the point? And what does this lead to?

The steelworks' management has hopes that the government will finally wake up and that the state steelworks will not be taken over by a competitive Polonia enterprise.

9295

**Private School Movement Poses 'Elite,'
Rural-Urban Rivalry Question**
*25000349d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Apr 88 p 3*

[Article by Andrzej Ornat: "Against Private Schools"]

[Text] I am attentively following the press discussion of the idea of restoring private schools in Poland. I also read just as attentively the draft statute of the Public Educational Society [Spoleczne Towarzystwo Oswiatowe (STO)].

This is one of the ideas borne on the crest of the wave of our Polish reforms. Since I myself am a professional educator with many years of experience, I feel as it were responsible for the shape of Polish education. Let me then take the liberty of offering my personal reflections on this discussion. I admit that I have a great many doubts about this matter.

Polish schools have indeed become an institution that inadequately promotes the individuality of students and is resistant to innovations and modernity. The curriculums are swollen, the base is bursting at its seams, there are combined classes in the countryside, in cities many schools operate on triple-shift basis, school facilities vary in quality, and lastly there are major shortages of qualified teachers. These are indeed great problems of national education.

It is much less frequent now that we meet teachers to whom their work is their avocation. Many teachers are chiefly interested in working overtime and avoiding extracurricular activities. This also ensues from the longtime undervaluation of the profession, in material terms as well. These are sad truths, and one has to be aware of them when commencing discussion of how to improve schools.

Against the background of the above imperfections of our educational system, any idea of introducing positive changes should be considered seriously. I value the fact that groups of various public activists desire to inspire Polish education with a revived spirit and breathe life into the decayed, as it were, connections between the schools, the family, and the community. This is an opportunity for creating an authentic social movement for better schools.

Recently the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Campaign To Help Schools, the nationwide committees for building or expanding schools, the parental committees, and the patronage over schools by plants and factories, have been complemented by the initiative of the Public Educational Society (STO). Activists from that society want to focus on the schools and their problems, to attend to them. Such an attitude should be considered constructive.

But is their proposal indeed a prescription for remedying the defects of Polish schools—of thousands of these schools—in town and country? Will that indeed be an improvement?

A reading of the draft statute of the STO elicits doubts. The assumed goals and programs of the STO and the National Campaign To Help Schools overlap. The question arises whether the actions considered in them cannot be undertaken within the already existing organizational and program structure.

If the STO is to be a movement, the ways and means of its operation as assumed in the statute will of a certainty formalize and institutionalize it, judging from past experience in this respect. Or perhaps that is the point? Moreover, the number of the schools to which the STO movement applies will be limited, which in advance makes it an elitist one. Lastly, there is the question of how can the Constitutional provision prescribing free and obligatory elementary schools be reconciled with the basic idea of private schools which, by their very nature, give priority to students from well-off families. How can this be reconciled with the universal right to free and equal education? That is why I understand the spontaneous protest of all those participants in the discussion who are resolutely opposed to the idea of the so-called private schools.

From the standpoint of a country that is hardly rich, would "withdrawing" any group of youth from state-paid education be rational? According to provisional calculations, on allowing for only part of the outlays, a year of teaching one student in a very modest elementary school costs the state about 50,000 zlotys, allowing for the present-day low and commonly criticized norms and indicators.

The authors of the statute claim that tuition will cost 15,000 zlotys per student. But who will reimburse such [private] schools for their deficit? The state, of course.

Who will build the schools? At present a modest rural school costs about 250 million zlotys. And what about modern teaching aids, modern equipment, etc? If the state will subsidize private schools, that shall be at the expense of rural and provincial public schools.

Are we once again to promote divisions within the society and compound the antagonism between town and country, with the state paying for this? However this may be viewed, the issue is that of elitism. Elitism of teachers, because the best ones are to be selected (and what about the "worst" ones?), and elitism of students, because once they are enrolled in such schools their reputation grows and every one of them is already a candidate for a great man. And lastly, there is the elitism of parents. I fear that the brutal conditions of self-financing will create a situation in which, contrary to the founding idea, children will be sent to such schools not by parents from the working intelligentsia but by so-called nouveau riche parents.

And what about social justice? What about the until recently proclaimed postulate of egalitarianism? And where is the program for giving an equal start in life to children from diverse social milieux? How will this influence the shaping of the social structure of the future? What will be the significance of the school system and what functions will it exercise in the entire system of shaping the socialist society?

Times, people, and attitudes also have changed. But I do not believe that this should be the decisive factor. A school is not a trade or a manufacturing or trading company.

One more thing: a private school of this kind in which the contacts between parents and teachers reduce to a relationship of the "I'm paying, therefore I demand" kind are an attractive idea and one "in the spirit of the times," as they are supposed to motivate teachers to teach better. But what about upbringing? How can there be any room for behavioral and political indoctrination? Or are these schools to be an oasis ruled by its own laws? Is their selection of curriculums to be "fortuitous"? From the standpoint of the socialist state, such "franchising of education" is not to be discussed at all. Or perhaps this concerns diverting attention from issues that are indeed crucial to national education?

Despite its shortcomings and difficulties, the accomplishments of the educational system of People's Poland during its 40 years of existence cannot be questioned. Nowadays we are an educated society and the problem rather is how to utilize this potential, how to afford even greater opportunities for education to the broadest possible numbers of youth from all milieux. Let us improve what we already have, because this is a struggle for the future of the nation and not for that of one of its segments.

Early in this century Jan Hempel wrote, "If I am a son, then I am above my father, because I supersede him in the historical procession." This transcending of levels should not, however, be a conscious return to a situation in which class and stratum divisions would be exacerbated, in which wealth would determine the quality of education and hence also the avenues of social advancement.

I think that the real problem is completely different. I am of course in favor of enhancing the status of the teacher, of the normal Polish teacher in the normal Polish school. There exist grounds for viewing this issue somewhat more optimistically already in the not distant future. I wish that what we call the socialization of [public participation in] schools would be a fact rather than a pious wish. Let the schools combine in themselves the responsibilities of the state, the teacher, the parents, the pupils, and the entire local community, for the level of upbringing and education.

Before accepting the premise that private schools and the Public Educational Society are a prescription for greater public participation in schools, let us define the meaning of such schools. Perhaps relevant ideas and experience can be found in the history of educational thought, both ancient and modern? Perhaps then proposals for repairing the school system will not ensue from ignorance or from the egotism of a social group or stratum?

True, some earlier ideas, e.g., the idea of the "open school"—the "community school"—have not been completely translated into reality. The related inconsistencies have often been due to limited material possibilities. I believe that, given the surge of democratization in this country, there exists at present an excellent opportunity for all the concerned partners to learn self-government and sharing of responsibility as regards the schools.

The contacts between parents and schools should not be limited to information about the successes and failures of students. Why cannot parents decide on important school affairs and participate in school life? After all, they have often contributed their own labor and money to building schools as part of community projects, as has happened in many villages in my voivodship—Siedlce—alone.

We should investigate both the favorable and the undesirable aspects of the relationship between the school and the community. Is the school isolating itself from the community? Is the community turning away from the school? Answers to these questions are of fundamental theoretical and practical importance. It is here that we should explore the solutions.

Proposals for restoring private schools, "franchised schools," "auto schools," etc., and creating new structures or "social movements" are not a prescription for recovering the health of the present-day school system, because they are counterproductive to it.

Impact of 'New Ideas' Noted at Conference on Patriotic Upbringing
26000349a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16-17 Apr 88 p 2

["Patriotic Is Not Old-Fashioned: The Conference in Bydgoszcz"—PAP report]

[Text] More than 200 teachers and educators from schools, higher educational institutions, and the army took part in the National Conference on Problems of the Patriotic-Defense Education of the Rising Generation, which ended on 15 Apr in Bydgoszcz.

It was found that the shaping of patriotic and defense attitudes is one of the basic tasks of the socialist school system, but the changes occurring in this country, as well as the marked spread of all sorts of influences, ideas, and ideologies among the rising generation are posing new tasks to educators and require exploring new educational ways and means.

The problem of shaping patriotic attitudes by inculcating civic-mindedness in youth surfaced in most of the discussion. Attention was also drawn to the special contributions of the army in this field and the role of military service in education in citizenship. "Only education through participation in common problems," said Minister of National Education Henryk Bednarski, "can bear fruit in the forms of enlightened persons who understand well their duties as citizens."

Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla, who participated in the conference, declared that patriotism and national defense, the fatherland, the nation, and the state, are fundamental symbols which operate constantly, both in times of stability and when problems beset us. "Patriotism is an ennobling factor. It has not lost its strength, and neither has it become old-fashioned. Its importance is rising precisely now that our economy is being reformed and the process of democratic changes and refinements in the system of exercise of power is becoming more marked. We shall not reform the economy completely unless patriotically thinking and acting youth join us in this battle. By such youth I mean those who do not lack courage and predispositions; those who desire to take reasonable risks, who "will to will," who are not terrified by any obstacle or difficulty, who are sensitive and at the same time tenacious, active, and consistently striving toward the established goal. In other words, this is a problem of personnel, and especially of young personnel. This precisely shall be the topic of, among others, the next plenum of the PZPR Central Committee."

J. Baryla stressed strongly the present-day importance of the work ethos. "Real life demonstrates," he declared, "that we are still awaiting a revolutionary turning point in attitude toward work. For dozens of years we have

been feeling closer to romantic tradition than to a realistic valuation of labor, entrepreneurial spirit, and civic activity. Hence also the expectations that, in the presence of the reform, economic mechanisms will prompt more efficient work. At the same time, however, we need a coherent and highly productive organization of work education. In that domain the family and the school should play the basic role."

The speaker touched upon the problem of historical education. He emphasized that in this matter the educational system is the guiding factor. However that problem may be considered, the point of departure should be the crux of the matter, the authority of the school system, including higher education. Concerning defense training, the Central Committee secretary said that preparing youth to defend the fatherland remains an important and ever topical task. The point, though, is that such training be updated, freed of superfluous topics, of mechanical "cramming" of rules of the service manual, etc. Defense training and military studies should be primarily geared to providing patriotic education and teaching defense doctrine, the nature of the army, and the nature of service to the fatherland.

The conference was also attended by the Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army Division General Tadeusz Szacilo.

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ROMANIA

Olympic Coach Angry at RFE, Denies Requesting Asylum in Canada

27000079 Bucharest *FLACARA* in Romanian
29 Apr 88 p 17

[Editorial article: "A Lie Exposed"]

[Text] Yes, undoubtedly many of you immediately recognized the man in the photograph. He is Dumitru Focseneanu, a celebrity in the world of our winter sports. His record as a fearless bobsled athlete owes its prestige and prominence to special performances and titles such as second place in the European Championships together with Panturu on the two and four person bobsled in 1969, second place at the 1970 Kennedy Memorial Championship, European champion together with Panturu, Pascu, and Zangor in 1971, the Youth World Cup in Japan together with Dragos Panaitescu in 1972, and finally, the bronze medal, also with Panturu, at the 1973 World Championships in the United States. The list could have been longer, but he wanted to do other things in life, too, aside from sports and, believing that quitting at one's peak is a mark of character and self-respect, he retired. Since 1974 he has devoted himself to his work at the factory. Dumitru Focseneanu is an accomplished foreman at the metrology section of the Sinaia Mechanical Factory, and in the sports area, he has only functioned as coach of a number of teams.

A few days ago he called on us at the newspaper in connection with a personal problem. But we shall let him tell you the story himself.

"As is known, I went as a technician with the Romanian team to the recent Winter Olympic Games in Calgary, Canada. The results are known: unsatisfactory, for reasons on which I have my own views, which I have expounded not as a justification but as a means of improvement, and which I shall repeat, if I am consulted, at the proper quarters. Our bobsled team deserves a different situation, I think; the press would do well to intervene in this matter, too, but that is not what I came for. The reason I am taking up your time concerns my person and my reputation as an athlete and a man. My participation in Calgary was used by certain people to satisfy an inexplicable appetite for disinformation and slander. Some radio stations, including Voice of America and Radio Free Europe [RFE], probably wishing to produce a bombshell for their "human rights" campaign, aired the news that I, Dumitru Focseneanu, did not return home after the Olympics and that I asked for asylum in Canada.

"I did not hear the broadcasts in question, I generally do not have the time for such things, but quite a number of people came and told me about that piece of false and slanderous information. Bad news travels fast. Friends, relatives, and acquaintances began to call me; if my wife answered, they would commiserate with her, Oh dear, how could he do such a thing, he was a serious person, what could have happened. If I answered, some sounded surprised, others were at a loss to go into the matter: 'Is that really you, Dumitru, so it is not true?' 'No,' I would say, 'why should it,' until I learned from them what it was all about. At the beginning, I wanted to laugh. Imagine, some friends even rang up from abroad at about 3-4 o'clock in the morning. After my wife failed to convince them, they subjected me to genuine tests to make sure that it was my voice on the phone and not somebody else's. After all, they had I don't know what newspaper in their hands which said, in black and white, that I did not return home and that I had made the decision to remain abroad, across the ocean. But then this whole thing began to bother me. Why should people talk about me like that. I was the athlete that I was, I am not going to undeservedly promote myself, with my own dignity and honor, so what right did so-and-so have to come and soil it like that, with such lies, for which they can even be punished by law in a civilized country. I thought to myself, I have brothers and work comrades, I have a daughter—she is a fourth year student, just got married a few days ago—I hope to have grandchildren and great grandchildren; then I thought about all the people who do not have my phone number to verify, and so, disgusted about this base action attributed to me, I decided to do something about it. And the something soon occurred to me: to whom do the radio stations that slandered me belong? To the United States of America. Consequently, I should write to the U.S. Embassy. And so I did. I think that my form of address was correct: 'Mr

Ambassador,' no, I think I made that, Excellency, I have been to the United States several times and there was never anything said about me. Your newspapers always wrote about my performances and never published any erroneous information. After that, in the same vein, I stated how saddened I was by the lie circulated by the radio stations that his country finances, stated that I felt that my dignity as a man and an athlete had been injured, and requested that due reparations be made. I ended the letter by saying that if I did not receive satisfaction I would apply to the international courts of law for my rights. Some time after the letter was mailed I called the embassy to inquire whether the letter had arrived. It had been received. I called a few more times later, since I thought that the problem deserved an urgent reply. One lady from the press section, I do not know her name but I came to recognize her voice, told me on the third phone call that a cable had been sent to the United States and VOA, and that the reply would be communicated to me. Still, nothing came, so after another 8 days or so I called again. This time I was told that a reply had been received and that a retraction had been aired on the Romanian language broadcast in the evening of the 16th. I said thank you, then I think I said 'I kiss your hand,' because it was the same lady on the phone. However, later I learned that I had nothing to thank for, as I had hoped when I wrote the letter. Regular as well as absurd phone calls—some people really insulted me terribly—continued to disrupt the peace of my family. The cobweb of shame woven around my name by that irresponsible statement remained intact. Of course, I thought to myself, not everyone heard the retraction, perhaps it will be repeated and after a time the traces of the lie will be erased. But I soon learned from some acquaintances that in vain had I hoped for a disavowal. Because the retraction itself had in a way been a lie. Or in any case, it made the first lie even crasser. What kind of retraction is that, when what it said was: 'it would appear' that Focseneanu went back, when I myself, from my own home, I first wrote, then spoke to the embassy press service several times? How can I think in terms of correctness, of moral and professional honesty, when a radio station, pretending to redress a lie, continues to state: 'The situation of the Romanian Olympic bobsled coach,' that is to say, mine, 'about whom it was said that he allegedly requested political asylum in Canada, remains unclear.'"

Up to this point Focseneanu had told his story alertly, in short sentences, with the nuance in his voice of a man laughing at his own sorrow. Now, however, although he continued to look at us, the two newspaper men with whom he was talking, his voice acquired a new tone and he seemed to be addressing someone else:

"Why, pray, unclear? Because I came home, because I am minding my own business, my work, my daughter's wedding, the house I built with my own hands less than 100 meters from the house in which my parents raised seven sons? Because I never considered leaving the life I have here and my country? There are people capable of

leaving everything, their mother and father, too, that is true. But let those who smeared me and who, when politely asked to retract their lie proceeded to wrap it up in such words as to lend it even more credence, know that I, Dumitru Focseneanu, the worker that I now am and the athlete that I was, who, together with other Romanian bobsled drivers won respect and appreciation in many countries of the world, will never join them. As far as that is concerned, everything is and will remain clear."

What can we do? I ask as I always ask those who come to the newspaper to seek assistance with some problem. Now, however, it sounds to me as a diplomatic way of telling D. Focseneanu that his problem is beyond us. We cannot criticize the manner in which the letter addressed to the U.S. Embassy was handled because we on principle do not criticize any embassy. Nor can we do anything about the two slanderous radio stations, because when it comes to broadcast false items we cannot issue denials stating that the purposes were unclear. Because the purposes are, as everyone knows, murky.

12782

Failure To Protect 'State Secrets' Condemned
27000077 Bucharest *INFORMATIA*
BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 4 Apr 88 p 4

[Article by Petre Hladchi-Bucovineanu: "Safeguarding State Secrets—A Highly Responsible Patriotic Duty"]

[Text] Now, at the beginning of a new quarter, all the socioeconomic activities carried out in Bucharest—as well as throughout the country—are permeated by a great patriotic and revolutionary elan, which is the expression of the working people's resolute determination to implement the guidelines and recommendations issued by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent plenum of the RCP Central Committee for fulfilling the plan tasks with increasing efficiency. Their work is based on comprehensive program for organizing and modernizing the production, incorporating modern technologies and scientific and technical novelties, improving product quality, and thus raising the competitiveness of our products in foreign markets.

The working people's progressive attitude is also seen in the fact that as owners, producers, and consumers working devotedly, showing initiative, and observing order and discipline and socialist law, they contribute to better utilizing our ample and continuously growing material resources and to increasing the national wealth. At the current stage of intensive development of the economy it is particularly important to fully capitalize on the creative Romanian intelligence and to raise expectations, vigilance, and combativeness in the area of safeguarding state secrets and the scientific and technical property of our people.

It has not been a secret for a long time that, in the present international conditions, when the crises and crashes of the capitalist world have led to reduced markets and sharper confrontations of all kinds, guarding scientific novelties, secret information and data, service secrets, or information that is not open for publication has become a highly responsible patriotic duty. There are still enough foreign circles, concerns, and firms, not to mention special services, which try to obtain maximum profit by stealing foreign intelligence and robbing competing scientific or technical-economic institutions or partners—some of them located at a distance of thousands of kilometers—of their achievements. This is the reason that in all the countries, including ours, the concern to guard secrets has become a very important means of defending this national asset. Recent investigations by the competent state bodies at several Bucharest economic units concerning the observance of the legal provisions in this area—investigations that will be continued on a systematic basis—have revealed that the overwhelming majority of the working people who, by nature of their job, are in possession of secret information—genuine defenders of our revolutionary achievements—are familiar with and observe the legal regulations, and show care, responsibility, and a progressive civic attitude toward preventing leaks of confidential data that constitute an important asset and a component of the people's wealth; they fight irresponsibility and negligence in guarding and handling secret information, data, and documents. In this connection we would like to mention units such as the 23 August Enterprise, the Enterprise for Geological and Geophysical Prospecting, the Cotton Industry Central, the Grivita Rosie Chemical Equipment Enterprise, the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise, and many others, where great care is taken to guard new scientific-technical achievements and confidential data and documents, and where the law is implemented in all its strictures.

Unfortunately, however, there are still situations—albeit fewer and fewer—where this important state issue is, as one member of a control team put it, “played by ear,” and where important documents are removed from legal protection under various unfounded pretexts. Thus, at the Knitwear Industry Central it was noted that several documents were not marked as secret although they clearly were just that. At the same unit, a document typed in two copies was marked “secret” only on the top copy... A similar practice was encountered at the Aero-fina Enterprise, where a secret document was photocopied but not all the copies were filed according to the legal regulations.

Another situation that shows negligence and lack of concern for ensuring effective protection of state secrets was found at the Railway Cars and Rolling Stock Central and at the Knitwear industry Central, which had no lists whatsoever of the documents that must be treated as classified, although the law says that the unit management is in charge of compiling such lists.

Such “small oversights,” as some prefer to view them, can have unpredictable consequences. For example, such an “oversight” by those in charge of guarding confidential documents at the Ducesti Chemical Combine allowed a corrupt person—Radu Silviu Atanasiu—to attempt to hand over at Otopeni International Airport some technical blueprints to an interested foreigner. Caught red handed, Atanasiu said that he managed to pull it off because of conditions that made it easy to steal documents, that is to say, because of repeated violations of the law regulating this important area. In such cases—which are increasingly isolated in our social life—where some corrupt, morally bankrupt individual slid down the betrayal path lured by unearned “silver pieces” and various promises, those in charge of defending and implementing the law intervened firmly and foiled their schemes.

We must also call attention to the fact that there are still situations in which important service information is divulged over “a glass of wine.” Also, there are cases in which, out of poor judgement or a desire to shed the responsibility, some people remove the secret seal of important documents, at times simply by changing their classification from “plan” to “program,” or by intentionally violating certain plan indexes or sections.

In other situations, secret documents, some of them very important, are kept after working hours or are not handed over on time to the department in charge of safekeeping them. We cannot overlook the violations noted in this respect at the Synthetic Materials Central or the Policolor Enterprise, where the law is still not observed in its letter and spirit.

Those found responsible—here we could cite the names of several persons—were undoubtedly punished according to the law. Beyond that, however, we want to stress that sanctions or other administrative measures are not sufficient to ensure that the law is observed. That requires political-educational work, shaping a progressive consciousness, and creating a collective attitude against any negligence in this important area. The socialist revolutionary conscience of the masses is the safest means of guarding state secrets.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, “Strengthening order and observing socialist legality are mutually dependent. They constitute an objective requirement for developing the workers revolutionary democracy. We must increase the role and participation of the masses in defending socialism and the national independence and sovereignty, and the cooperation between the state bodies—bodies of the people which, within the division of labor in our society, have special duties—and the working people, led by the party.”

Resolute intervention by the working people, intolerance toward blabbers and negligent people, and firm measures taken according to the law against people of bad faith can and must preclude any “leakage” of confidential data

and information from enterprises, scientific-technological institutions, or any other socioeconomic unit. We are from recommending a climate of suspicion or mistrust among those employed in this area, who may be faithful to the traditional Romanian hospitality. However, aware of our responsibility for the present and future of the country, we cannot overlook the attempts that were made or may be made to thwart the work and intelligence of our people. Regardless of the specific nature of one's job or of the nature of the secret data or information, an attitude of great responsibility toward the observance of legal provisions and revolutionary vigilance are in fact an expression of loyalty to the fatherland and the people, a major act of defending the national property and the socialist system. The law itself states that "Guarding state secrets is a patriotic duty and an honorable obligation for all the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania."

12782

YUGOSLAVIA

Stronger Presidency Urged in Constitutional Deliberations

28000114 *Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian*
15 Apr 88 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Prof Radomir Lukic, member of the academy, by Darko Pejovic: "Yugoslavia Needs a Strong Chief of State"; date and place not given]

[Text]

STUDENT: Since the war Yugoslavia has had three constitutions and a number of constitutional laws and amendments. The frequent reforms have been explained in terms of our dynamic development. Are other explanations also possible?

Lukic: Constitutions are a mirror of society or at least should be. There are times, however, when constitutions do not in fact reflect the state of society accurately, but conceal it in an attempt to embellish it. But in one respect they undoubtedly reflect society—that is, when constitutions are amended frequently, this reflects social impermanence and the absence of a solid social system. In this sense it can also be said that the frequent amendment of our own constitutions accurately corresponds to the change of the general state of society. At the beginning there was state or administrative socialism, statism, and its corresponding constitution was that adopted in 1946, which in spirit and practice was what we would today call centralistic, although it did not read that way to the letter. The practice of its enforcement was much more centralistic than its provisions. This corresponded not only to the economic system being introduced, but also to the needs of centralistic direction of the processes of reconstruction of a country that had just come out of a difficult war.

STUDENT: The introduction of self-management demanded new constitutional arrangements?

Lukic: The introduction of self-management also required a change of the constitution, and since the conception of the very essence and especially the practice of self-management has been changing over time, the constitution has also had to be changed. At one time, around 1970, very soon after the 1963 Constitution, a kind of euphoria prevailed, or more accurately, two kinds of euphoria. On the one hand there was the mass movement in Croatia on a nationalistic basis and of a political character with far-reaching demands concerning the constitution, while on the other hand, a short while after that movement was stifled, there was a socialist-economic euphoria about having "finally found" a completely new self-managed socialism in the form of what was referred to as the "consensus economy." It seemed at the time to the leading forces that the time had come for "final" codification of that new system in a constitution, which was the 1974 Constitution, which was supposed to be a Magna Charta, a model of socialism, a solemn act of the highest order, a signpost for the development of society on completely new foundations over many years. This constitution was conceived not only as a constitution in the narrow sense of the word, a document that is supposed to regulate present relations, but also as a solemn declaration of a new system of socialism. That is why the ceremonial section of the constitution, "Basic Principles," is in the nature of an ideological program.

It soon turned out that in actuality that constitution, and especially its initial formal section, was in and of itself well-intentioned and even an elevated "flight to the heavens," which by its very nature was not achievable. People soon began to sober up and to realize that however attractive might have been the picture of ideal socialism contained in that constitution, that kind of socialism was not even close to being feasible under the given conditions, and there is a question whether it is achievable in a short time even under better conditions. What is more, the "Basic Principles" in that constitution were themselves very vague, poorly written, rhetorical, almost unusable. It turned out that reality is inexorable, and preparations began to move closer to reality by amending the constitution, and that has resulted in the present proposal to change it. However, it seems that the proposed changes are not close to reality either, and one can foresee that unless amendment of the constitution is kept within the proposed limits, new changes will soon have to be undertaken. Especially since opposing views are still at odds both in the domain of the political system and also the economic system, and it is still not clear who will win, and since on the other hand the socialist world itself is changing, still faster seemingly than we are, especially China and the Soviet Union. The instability, then, still persists, particularly if nothing serious is done to overcome the economic crisis, but also the other crises in our country. One can conclude, then,

that development is a cause of the changes, but that it is not altogether spontaneous, that it contains a great deal of voluntarism and a conflict of conceptions.

STUDENT: Just before the 1974 Constitution was adopted there was criticism of many of the features that had been proposed. There were the well-known conclusions of the Assembly of the Alliance of Belgrade Students in 1971 and also the debate in the School of Law of Belgrade University. What political forces proved stronger than the voice of science at that time?

Lukic: I am not directly engaged in contemporary political history or political science, so that I am not "competent" to answer that question. Certainly, there were many differing factors, frequently disguised, involved here, and it is difficult to ascertain them precisely. I think that the main factors were differing economic interests in the various parts of the country, which in turn were affected by the uneven level of development and historical position. Second, tradition also proved to be very strong. Nationalism arose as a consequence. This found a corresponding response in the so-called political forces, within which there was a splintering along the lines of interests and tradition.

As for science, it should be said that taken as a whole it did actually point very precisely to the troubles that would come first from the amendments and then from the 1974 Constitution, since it was not difficult to foresee them. But it should be said that even one segment of science fell into the euphoria, and so the constitution was "hammered into stars." Even some of those who are critics of the constitution today were excessive in their praise at that time.

STUDENT: How much were the inroads of nationalism in the late sixties and early seventies responsible for the concept of national states being resorted to instead of integration through the idea of Yugoslavism?

Lukic: It would not be advisable to respond to that question without the necessary scientific study which no one has yet done. It is probable that an incursion of nationalism did have some influence on the conception that the Yugoslav Federation should give preference to the statehood of the republics and even the provinces over Yugoslavia as a state. Undoubtedly, there were also other factors which worked in that direction. One of them in fact was the fear of hegemony on the part of the larger republics, especially Serbia, which was argued on the basis of experience from prewar Yugoslavia, what is referred to as the first Yugoslavia.

The "Defenders" and "Amenders" of the Constitution

STUDENT: Did anyone in the political sphere oppose the dismantling of the Federation which was undertaken in the seventies?

Lukic: As far as I remember there was not a great deal of public resistance, especially in the circles which had political power or a strong influence on it. I have the impression that at the outset people did not even realize the extent of that "dismantling." Things also went further in that respect than a correct interpretation of the constitution. Once the "dismantling" got going, it crossed the boundaries which might have been foreseen, and even what undoubtedly should have remained unified, if only for purely technical reasons, was also dismantled. This certainly was harmful even to those who favored that kind of dismantling. But they probably felt that this would be offset by the gain in other areas—the political field, the ethnic, etc.

STUDENT: Was the 1974 Constitution conceived as a phase in development of federalism at all? The provisions under which hardly a single federal body is the supreme body of government are much closer to confederative practice.

Lukic: The official view taken was that this really was a further step in the development of the Federation. Fervent advocates of that kind of federation and in general of a new "revolutionary" law and legal science even asserted that this was a completely new concept of the federation, a socialist concept, by contrast with the old bourgeois concept, which makes about as much sense if someone were to assert, say, that there is such a thing as socialist electricity as compared to bourgeois electricity. Incidentally, the political forces which laid the foundations of the 1974 Constitution were pursuing their own political objectives, and they were not greatly concerned whether this was a "development" of the Federation or the "road" to confederation. Those discussions of theory were rightly left to the experts. But from the professional viewpoint there is no doubt that Yugoslavia is a federation with a considerable departure in the direction of confederation. It could even be asserted that the elements of confederation predominate, at least in a formal sense, in the way decisions are made, which in fact is the most important thing. But it should also be said that the jurisdiction of federal bodies and agencies is much greater than is the usual thing in a confederation. That is in fact the difficulty of these mixtures of federation and confederation. That is, that relatively significant jurisdiction of the federation requires that the method of decisionmaking be the one that is typical of a federation, i.e., that it be by majority vote of the members of representative bodies. In our country the principal decisions are made by consensus of all the member states, and that includes the provinces as what are called constituent parts of the federation. This makes it more difficult and frequently even impossible to make numerous decisions, and as a consequence the exercise of the numerous powers of the federation referred to suffers, it is ineffective, and this is harmful to everyone. Put simply, it considerably impedes the normal and everyday functioning of the state.

STUDENT: What is the tendency in international law on the question of recognizing the statehood of federal units?

Lukic: International law has little to do with this matter. If a state wants to be organized as a federation or confederation, that is the matter of the state itself, and the question of whether the members of that state are to be considered states is a matter for science, the theory of government, and law. In this science, as in any other, there is not complete agreement on the complicated questions, since neither is there agreement on the concept of the state, of sovereignty, or other similar concepts. Still it can be said that the view mainly prevails that even the member-states of a federation are not states in the true and strict sense of the word, but are only member-states of the confederation. The only essential thing for international law is to determine precisely which is the entity involved in international relations or international law, since that entity is responsible for enforcement of that law and is subject to corresponding penalties.

STUDENT: The Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System envisaged 55 constitutional amendments; the proposal of the Presidency envisaged changing all of 120 articles, and the public debate is going even more widely than that. It seems that the criticisms of the present Constitution are more numerous than was anticipated.

Lukic: They are obviously more numerous. As it has been aptly put, both the political forces and the public have divided into "defenders" and "amenders" of the Constitution. As the debate about changing the Constitution continues, there are fewer and fewer "defenders," or at least their voice is not so audible. In some parts of the country the public has expressed a determined demand for radical changes, while on the other hand there are parts of the country where those who stand firmly with the "defenders" have the stronger voice.

This is especially noticeable when it comes to the provisions of the Constitution which are said to express the spirit of AVNOJ. To be sure, these provisions were not contained in the constitutions before 1974 either, so that it is rather difficult to believe that the actual decisions of AVNOJ and the constitutions which were close in time to AVNOJ do not faithfully express its spirit, but rather this is done only by the present Constitution. But, be that as it may, even the "defenders" are seeking more significant changes than envisaged in the official proposal of amendments. As a matter of fact, it seems that the dispute over the economic system has to some extent been mitigated by a weakening of the forces of those who support the "consensus economy" which the present Constitution represents and that perhaps in this regard an agreement will be reached with those who support a market economy. But still the dispute over the political system, especially the so-called "consensus" and position of the provinces, is still going on and perhaps is

becoming even fiercer, and that is the main reason why voices are being heard concerning a referendum as a way out of a possible constitutional crisis. For all these reasons the changes will probably be more numerous than those proposed.

Collective Bodies Have Trouble Functioning

STUDENT: Many of the participants in the conference on constitutional amendments held in early March in the School of Law of Belgrade University emphasized the need to enact a completely new constitution. Is that a demand for reassessment not only of "normative provisions," but also of "constitutional principles"?

Lukic: From the technical standpoint, it probably would be better to enact a completely new constitution on the principle that a new suit of clothes is better than one that has been made over. Any change in a constitution inevitably results in difficulties in its subsequent interpretation. That is why I think it is better to write a new constitution as soon as agreement is reached on its content. The reason for this is that the present Constitution, and, as I have said, especially its "Basic Principles," is a poor piece of work in terms of language and concepts. The dilemma over writing a new constitution or not is not essential. A newly drafted constitution need not be anything "newer" than the old constitution with amendments, when it comes to the content.

I do not know whether those who propose writing a new constitution are implying that the constitution should be fundamentally changed or simply that a newly drafted constitution must be clearer, which would facilitate its application. That being the case, it would be better to talk about a "rewritten" instead of a "new" constitution.

STUDENT: You said that the "Basic Principles" are a poor piece of work with respect to language and concepts. Should they be kept in the new (or rewritten) constitution?

Lukic: In my opinion, it would be best not to have any "Basic Principles." They were written at a time when the belief was that the principles arrived at were more or less, if not final, then certainly very long-lasting, principles of socialism. Today, however, it is clear that the entire conception of socialism is in crisis, that new roads are being explored, since those tried up to now have proved unsuccessful. And it is characteristic of our "Basic Principles" that they incorporate many elements of the utopian, or at least what cannot be achieved in any foreseeable time. That is why retaining them can only be harmful to clarity and thereby also to application of the constitution. And since this really is a time for reassessing the very foundations of socialism, not only in our country, but in the world at large, it would be immodest to try to compose new "Basic Principles."

STUDENT: Science itself has divided over the question of amending the constitution. The opinions range from insisting of radical changes to the view that whatever encounters resistance in a republic or province should be abandoned.

Lukic: It is unfortunate, and to a large extent science is also divided by republics and provinces, although there is also significant agreement regardless of regional affiliation. Basically, the division is over the relationship between the federation and confederation, between the republics and provinces, and to a lesser extent concerning the economic system. It is difficult at present to see how this will be overcome. However, we are not talking here about what I might refer to as pure science, but a corresponding political position or interest. There is not much doubt that science clearly defines a difference between a federation and a confederation, at least in essence, just as it sets forth still more clearly the concept of the province as being an autonomous unit, not a unit constituting a state. Science has been politicized: one science asserts that equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities requires this kind of constitution, while the opposing science asserts that there is no true equality without a state that is sufficiently unified to guarantee an effective economy, emphasizing that even the European Community is much more unified in certain relations, indeed even in making important economic decisions, consensus is not required, but a decision of the majority of the member-states is considered final. One can respect that political position on the part of science, but one cannot agree with "modification" of scientific views concerning the concept of the federation and confederation and the republic-province in order to "scientifically" support that view with the assertion that confederative elements do not exist or are insignificant. When science is clearly separated from politics, then, the line of demarcation also becomes clear between true science and politicized science. In other words, science is agreed on these matters, but the scientists are not, since they are speaking in political rather than scientific terms.

STUDENT: The public debate has advanced a truly broad range of differing opinions and positions. How do you assess the proposals for doing away with the state presidencies of the republics and provinces and indeed even with the State Presidency of Yugoslavia?

Lukic: I also think that the state presidencies of the republics and provinces are not necessary and are a burden on the organization, they make it clumsy and its operation slower. A conflict of jurisdiction also arises because of the unclear division. It would be best, then, to do away with them. Incidentally, that would also best suit the concept of the so-called parliamentary system of government which has been adopted in our country at least in principle and is seen as the most democratic. As for the SFRY State Presidency, the question is more complicated. In view of how divided the country is, both in reality and in formal law and constitutional law, I think it is necessary, that is, I think we need a strong

chief of state. The public does not know how the SFRY State Presidency really functions, whether it has difficulties in its operation or the like, but one can believe that it does have. Collective bodies have difficulty functioning, especially since the provision of the Constitution is not altogether clear (it reads: "The SFRY State Presidency shall take action on the basis of reconciliation of the views of its members" and "Shall decide in the manner set forth in the operating procedure"), it still has to be assumed that it makes those decisions unanimously, and the operating procedure probably does not essentially alter the purport of this constitutional provision. Ideally there would be an individual designated as the president of the republic. But in view of the partially (or predominantly) confederative nature of our state, which at the same time has very broad powers, it would also be difficult for such a chief of state to function. At the very least we should think about the possibility of extending the term of office of the chairman of the State Presidency from 1 year, which is what it is now, to 3 or 4 years, and at the same time his powers should be broadened. The SFRY State Presidency should certainly be elected by the Yugoslav Assembly.

The Autonomies Are Actually Republics

STUDENT: The public debate has demonstrated that the constitutional amendments *must solve the issue* of the constitutional status of SR Serbia. Put most briefly, the changes must guarantee that Serbia, like the other republics, fully exercises its functions as a state. If that requirement is fulfilled, what would be the position of the provinces relative to Serbia and the Federation?

Lukic: Without entering into the political aspect of the question, I often say and write that both the state and the law have their own professional and technical laws which must be respected, since they are objective and since violating them results in poor functioning of the state and the law. One of those laws would be that one and the same administrative unit of a state, if I may call it that, or sociopolitical community, cannot at the same time be a part of a higher and broader community and still remain equal to it. In other words, the provinces cannot be subordinate to SR Serbia if they already have equal status with it because they are constituent parts of Yugoslavia. It can even be said that the province is higher than the republic, since it is represented twice in the Federation—once as an integral part of the republic and the second time as an independent part of Yugoslavia. This kind of construct cannot function well and effectively, since the dual position of the province is in conflict with itself. Just as you cannot make a mixture of a federation and a confederation, so you cannot make a mixture of a province and a republic either. One or the other has to be chosen. What we do, however, is to think up things which are impossible and self-contradictory, and then consider this a discovery (something like a "nonreturnable loan" or "positive zero" or the like). It follows from all of history and the objective state of

affairs that the provinces should really have been provinces, not provinces in a formal sense, when they were actually republics, and that is the direction in which their constitutional status should be changed, guaranteeing Serbia the supreme constitutional, legislative, administrative, and judicial power over the entire territory. Incidentally, even Serbia is required under international law to discharge its international obligations, such as protection of human rights, for example, over its entire territory, which today has been made practically impossible. Accordingly, the provinces would not be directly represented in the Federation, but would be represented through the republic, in a manner well-known in science and practice.

STUDENT: The document "Proposal for Undertaking Amendment of the SFRY Constitution" states in Article 22: "If there are arrangements which frustrate the consistent and complete achievement of the constitutional position of SR Serbia and the provinces, then appropriate amendments should correct that." How do we account for that "if," when experience has vividly demonstrated that there are such features?

Lukic: That position really is a bit unusual, since it is assumed that a proponent of constitutional amendments has unfailingly made a good study of the situation and knows clearly what in his opinion should be changed in the Constitution. This vague position leaves it to others to determine whether something really should be changed, whereby the proponent gives up his task, which precisely consists of proposing amendments to the Constitution. It is emphasized at the same time that the framework of the amendments proposed by the proponent should be adhered to, which is contradictory. And who is supposed to propose the changes which might be necessary? Of course, everyone can propose them, but those other proponents do not have the authority of the official proponent. This position on the part of the proponent signifies, then, that he himself is not so convinced that those changes are necessary, which could have an impact on subsequent proceedings concerning them, if someone should in fact propose them. It would thus be better for the proponent to take an explicit position in this regard.

STUDENT: What ought to be the essence, the main characteristic of the autonomous province? It seems that now they are largely likened to socialist republics and the tendency is for them to insist on conventional functions of a state.

Lukic: Science distinguishes very precisely the republic or member-state of a federation from an autonomous province which is only part of a state with broad home rule. To be sure, that government is not altogether identical in all autonomous entities—in some places it is broader, in others more narrow. But those differences still remain within the limits of the main boundary dividing the state from the autonomous unit. The state has sovereignty (at least the limited kind of sovereignty

that prevails in a federation), and this is expressed in the existence of constitutional authority and in the sovereign, i.e., supreme, power (legislative, administrative, and judicial) over the entire territory of the state, including, then, the territory of the autonomous unit. In our country, as has already been said, the autonomies are actually republics, and indeed to a certain extent they are even more than the republic of which they are a part and to whose sovereign authority they should be subject. I will illustrate what this is like with just one example, the very simplest one: at present the provinces have complete judicial authority, i.e., the court of the republic cannot do anything against verdicts of their courts—they are final, that is, sovereign. It is that way with the other powers as well.

The Opstina as a Holder of Sovereign Rights?

STUDENT: How, then, is one to explain the existence of the provincial constitutions, when they nominally are not states?

Lukic: Autonomies do not as a rule have constitutional power. It should be emphasized that the important thing here is not the name, that is, whether the highest legal enactment is called a constitution or not, but it is the content that is important. The constitution of a state in which there is an autonomous unit attributes to the latter the basic provisions of organization, jurisdiction, and functioning which guarantee that the autonomous unit does not exceed the limits of subordination to the sovereign state of which it is a part.

STUDENT: The working people and citizens, nationalities and ethnic minorities exercise their sovereign rights above all in the autonomous provinces and only secondarily in the republic. What is the difference between sovereignty and "sovereign rights"?

Lukic: At one time, when that difference arose in our country, I wrote about that and criticized that arrangement. Again this is a construct of ours which is probably unique in the world and untenable in both logic and law. Sovereignty consists of concrete sovereign rights. It is not possible, then, for an entity to have sovereign rights if it does not have sovereignty. The purpose of that original construct of ours was for someone to simultaneously be sovereign and not sovereign, but since that cannot be literally prescribed, since it is an obvious contradiction, an effort was made to distinguish sovereign rights from sovereignty. And not only are sovereign rights granted to the provinces, but even in a sense to opstinas. That is, Article 248 of the SFRY Constitution reads: "Aside from the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution in other sociopolitical communities, the ethnic minorities shall also exercise their sovereign rights in the opstina as a self-managed and sociopolitical community." Although this provision is rather unclear, it still states that ethnic minorities do exercise sovereign rights in the opstina. Since the nationality does not make any sovereign decisions directly, but through the state,

that is, through other sociopolitical communities, this means that the opstina also possesses a portion of sovereignty, at least when it comes to the rights of the ethnic minority. However difficult it might be to understand this and square it with the basic principles of law, it still stands that there is no other interpretation of this provision than precisely the one I have referred to. But it seems beyond doubt that it is something absolutely unacceptable for the opstina to be the holder of sovereign rights, not only from the legal viewpoint, but from any other viewpoint as well.

STUDENT: In your opinion, how good are the prospects for SR Serbia, given the present mechanism for amending the Constitution by reconciliation of views, to effectively institute the attributes of its statehood?

Lukic: That is really difficult to foresee and would be even if I had a much better insight into the balance among the political forces which are to resolve this question. The representatives of Serbia and the provinces have decided to undertake to study the need for changing the provisions concerning the relationship between Serbia and the provinces. So far nothing has been communicated as to how that job is going, and we still do not know whether the changes will be necessary at all. We have to wait and see, although little time is now left for public debate to be conducted concerning possible amendments which might be proposed. Probably some amendments will be proposed, since it is difficult to believe that the possibility of them would have been officially foreseen if it was not thought that they are necessary. A determination has already been made as to what they should be like in essence—they must afford full realization of the position of Serbia and the provinces in the sense of a more precise definition of their mutual relationship. To be sure, in a literal interpretation it has not been stated that the amendments should institute the attributes of Serbia's statehood. This follows from the entire state of relations and from the argument in support of the need for the changes which Serbia is demanding.

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Effects of Cutbacks in Diplomatic Service Traced
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NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 88 pp 44-46

[Article by Milutin Milenkovic: "What Changes Are Taking Place in the Foreign Ministry?"]

[Text] Always and everywhere enveloped in the more or less opaque clouds of a secret mission and the special preference and confidence shown by the highest body of state sovereignty—but also with special responsibilities and risks of all kinds—the foreign service, especially in a relatively impecunious society, is usually seen in terms of the distinguished world of receptions, banquets, travel in luxury, and official residences, but also in terms of cautious public statements devoid of content.

That "lucky them" facade and superficial and uninformed views from the outside conceal a profession which requires strong and varied intellectual abilities, extensive general and specialized knowledge about society and international relations, professional skills and training for numerous practical operations, both internal and international, in communications, research, analysis, intelligence, creative initiative, and so on. And that lifestyle, when the diplomatic function is performed outside one's own country, cramps personal freedoms and inclinations to a degree that is not easy to take: associate with those who have been chosen by the criterion of the needs of the state, subordinate all contacts even after working hours (which diplomats do not have anyway) to plans for nurturing and extending the circle of useful connections, keeping them alive, fitting them into the practice of mutual official usefulness. And evaluations of the accomplishment of an individual diplomat are difficult to reduce to any objectified criteria; often they are all out of proportion to the work invested and expectations, and to a certain extent they even are refracted through the subjective analytical prisms of superiors at "headquarters."

Coordination and Responsibility?

On the basis of our nine constitutions and even more laws regulating the various aspects of international cooperation of Yugoslav and republic-provincial government bodies, public institutions, work organizations, and sociopolitical organizations, political administrative communities, associations, and so on—the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs (SSIP) is only one of a sizable number of equal holders of responsibilities in the domain of foreign relations. In addition to the SSIP, there are also agencies and missions involved in foreign trade, there is scientific-technical and cultural cooperation (ZAMTES's), and the network of Tanjug newspaper correspondents and almost all the major newspapers, and countless other channels through which our country, with its open borders and extremely decentralized performance of the functions of sovereignty, goes out into the world and receives the world at home. As a practical matter it is not possible to delineate the circle of these participants in international cooperation, nor can anyone accurately count them, since the numerous statistical and coordinating bodies and methods nowhere total them up for Yugoslavia as a whole, nor for the separate republics and provinces.

Still, this is all part of the sphere of implementing international political commitments, i.e., carrying out foreign political cooperation. However, even in setting forth the principles, tasks, directions, forms, methods, personnel, and resources for those commitments we have about 90 authorized bodies, councils, commissions, sections, and other entities of the state, of delegate assemblies, of self-management in the economy, of sociopolitical communities, and other federal, republic, and provincial bodies, not including those at the opstina level. Among them is the SSIP, which, in spite of its

assumed and real ranking, is still just a specialized area of the Federal Executive Council, that is, an administrative agency. Precisely because of this attribute, it is unable to unify, coordinate, and keep up with all the plans, activities, and results of those countless equal holders of authority in foreign policy, since among them there are entities which personify the sovereignty of our republics. And it, under the 1974 Constitution, is inviolable and primary relative to the state attributes of the SFRY, and such a role of a federal administrative agency in coordinating and directing the legislative and public bodies of the sovereign republics cannot as a matter of law and politics be established.

On the basis of the constitutional position of the various bodies of the state and society and their character in the legal system, only the SFRY Assembly or SFRY State Presidency might be the entities to establish and carry out coordination of this entire variegated activity of Yugoslav entities. However, neither the Presidency nor the SFRY Assembly have the operational professional staff that might reconcile, evaluate, and direct various participants in international cooperation competently and promptly, so that those two highest government bodies of the SFRY remain in the domain of setting forth foreign policy strategy and formulating the most important decisions. What is more, even the general constitutional relations between the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY State Presidency have not been fully spelled out or clearly delineated by the very broad provisions of the constitution, so that their powers of promotion in the field of foreign policy cannot be precise.

So, then, who unifies the entire "front" of Yugoslav international relations on an authoritative, up-to-date, professional, and effective basis?

In actuality—no one.

And to whom are the numerous entities in the "front" accountable?

Usually only to the one (or to those) on whom the giving and taking (and expectation) of posts depends. In the choice between being well-protected and doing good work, practice gives preference to the former.

Promotion of the Conception of the SSIP

The riddles about status, the constitution, and law, however, are not—and need not be—uncrossable barriers to performance of our professional diplomatic function as a specialized area of government. Provided the republics and provinces allow uniform and clear definition of foreign policy strategy—which for years was the case—nor need their particular responsibility for realizing that jointly asserted uniform orientation be a hindrance to the good work of our professional diplomatic service. Democratization and socialization of these matters and of the entire function of the SSIP are a natural

component of the country's general line of social development, and it is clear that diplomacy must adapt to those tendencies, not the other way about. In fact there are no arguments to the contrary coming from the SSIP, nor do any essential dilemmas concerning this process arise in conversation with its leading figures. "There are no taboos at all in criticism of the SSIP either from other government and social bodies or from its personnel. The problem is only that along with criticism we always need new ideas as well, inventive proposals and help from all the creative forces of society, not people taking pot shots," said one of the most influential members of the federal secretary's collegium.

In recent years, particularly in 1986 and 1987, there was stronger criticism of the functional conception and regional orientation of the principal forces of the SSIP. Nor was the personnel structure, the level of our diplomacy's ability and effectiveness, spared. Nor did all of that pass without practical responses within the field: the economic component in the organization and operation of the SSIP has been strengthened and differently defined. In all the postwar years it had an economic department within diplomatic-consular missions and "at home," but that department—to put it simply—had to clear the way for commercial relations, and the constant refrain in joint intergovernmental communiques was that "our economic relations are lagging behind political relations and many opportunities for better economic cooperation have not been utilized." Only in 1973, when the "first petroleum shock" occurred, did that department in the SSIP gain an analytical and operational place of greater importance, with the obligation to analyze, evaluate, and if possible forecast the essential economic developments in the world and bring influence to bear on the positions and measures of our authorities relative to those trends. This had repercussions even for the organizational and personnel structure of the SSIP: the share of economic experts increased in the total diplomatic corps, several administrations of the SSIP are concerned with various aspects of economic activity related to foreign countries, and recently two assistant federal secretaries were assigned these specialized tasks (Dr M. Trajkovic and R. Radulovic are responsible for affairs in the sphere of the government debt, integration processes in Europe, economic cooperation with the developing countries and the nonaligned, coordination with the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia and our other authorities for international business cooperation, etc.). This sector has become one of the most important directions for development of our diplomatic service; the conception of our multilateral international activity has undergone a similar evolution. This is not primarily the desire for large international conferences, but more and more an aspect of the democratization of world affairs: the role and activity of the nonaligned movement, preserving the principles and peaceful activity of the UN, overseeing the work of organizations for multilateral cooperation both in the West and in the East, but just as importantly development of Mediterranean and Balkan

multilateral relations, cooperation based on the Conference on European Security and Cooperation and a number of other "NN countries" (nonaligned and neutral) in Europe, and then the "Committee of Nine" nonaligned countries for the Near East, etc. Everything should be done to remove the monopoly of the great powers on the world scene even in making decisions about the destiny of the smaller countries; the demand has also been intensified to update policy planning with the SSIP—globally and more narrowly, by region and by subject matter. The Analysis and Planning Group (GAP) already has a long tradition in the SSIP and a strong "pedigree" as to its personnel. Many of the most esteemed names of our more recent diplomacy have served in it: Budimir "Leka" Loncar, the present federal secretary, the ambassadors M. Maksic, C. Job, M. Zupan, I. Golob, D. Pejic, Z. Jazic, and others. Now the GAP is oriented toward the closest possible cooperation with science. Every year scientific research institutes in all parts of Yugoslavia are commissioned to do about 40 studies that serve as the basis for planning international political action. The Center for Strategic Studies was established in Belgrade with the help of the SSIP, and while working on a particular project all the outside scientists hired maintain close ties with the respective sectors of the SSIP so as to arrive at findings that are as practical as possible in keeping with real trends. There are two university professors (M. Trajkovic and B.

Bohte) in the collegium of the federal secretary, and there are a sizable number of doctors of science and esteemed experts in many administrations.

An important conceptual aspect of the development of our diplomatic and consular department is its regional orientation. Some of the public criticism of the SSIP has been very loud and fierce because of the alleged neglect of European ties and overstressed insistence on less vital Asian and African and nonaligned directions. Those reproaches were not altogether unfounded, although the most important points of European policy are not in our diplomacy, nor in political-party ties have they ever been simply forgotten nor underestimated. But there have been specific shifts in relations among the various regional directions in the entirety of our diplomatic and consular corps, and some are still taking place. In 1983, for example, 29 diplomatic and consular missions were eliminated, and in recent months another 4 embassies have been eliminated in the Central African Republic, the Malgache Republic, the People's Republic of the Congo, and the Cultural and Information Center in Stuttgart. The reduction will have to continue, but not without limit or at the price of confirming the ominous forecast about our withdrawing from the world, especially from the nonaligned countries and developing countries.

Present Regional Distribution of Our Diplomatic and Consular Missions

	Total Number	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa	North America	South America	Australia and Oceania
Embassies	88	19	8	21	24	2	12	2
Consulates general	25	14	1	—	—	7	1	2
Consulates	12	9	—	—	1	—	1	1
Cultural and information centers	4	3*	—	—	—	—	1	—
Total	129	45	9	21	25	9	15	5

(* One is being eliminated)

Not only this regional distribution of diplomatic and consular missions, but also their categorization with respect to staff size and expenditures, confirm that Europe and the advanced part of the world have not been neglected. Thus the diplomatic and consular missions in the first group (with more than 20 staff positions) are located in 7 countries (France, Austria, United States, USSR, West Germany, Italy, and Great Britain), and they spend about 20 percent of the foreign exchange expenditures of the SSIP. The largest diplomatic and consular missions in the organization chart are in Paris and Vienna (with staffs of 36 and 35, respectively), and here it is notable that for us Vienna is a stronger diplomatic and consular center than Bonn (where we have a staff of 27). Although the seats of certain important international organizations with which we have

ambassadors (UNESCO, OECD, the Atomic Agency, the United Nations, UNIDO) are located in Paris and Vienna, this kind of concentration of personnel in those two centers is still open to dispute.

Even in the second group of our diplomatic and consular missions (with staff size between 15 and 20) all 19 missions are located in Europe and Beijing. Most of the diplomatic and consular missions in the nonaligned countries are only in the fourth group, in which there are 51 missions with a total of 26.7 percent of the foreign exchange expenditures of the SSIP, and in the fifth group (up to 4 staff positions) we have 35 missions, all of them in nonaligned countries and with expenditures comprising 12.8 percent of the foreign exchange budget of the ministry.

To all of this we should also add the rather strong permanent diplomatic mission with the UN (in New

York and Geneva, where certain of our representatives have won the highest reputation and high positions, for example, Janez Stanovnik and Miljan Komatina), with the European Community in Brussels, or with CEMA in Moscow.

Price and Efficiency

How efficient is this entire army of diplomats, and how much does it cost?

The number of staff positions in many diplomatic and consular missions has dropped considerably in recent years. At this very moment there is a "belt-tightening" affecting another 100 or so staff positions in diplomatic and consular missions (of the approximately 1,000 personnel in the diplomatic and consular department of the SSIP). A larger output than earlier is being demanded from this reduced staff and budget on the basis of the improved composition of personnel with respect to skills and qualifications, tighter selection, testing in the course of continuing training, not just at the time of hiring, linkage of the term of office not to a fixed period of time, but to performance, and so on. There will also be a reduction of the upper echelon of the SSIP, which now

has some 20 or so officials, the hierarchical processing of material is being simplified so as to establish the most direct possible links of those handling matters to the collegium and to the federal secretary himself and so that the top officials also "produce" analyses, plans, and decisions, rather than merely approving the work of their staff.

The principle is still parity representation of the republics and provinces, but now the federal secretary—with consent of the SFRY State Presidency—is authorized to apply this flexibly in the interest of quality. Aside from that, parity will not be applied to all personnel of the SSIP, but only to a certain range of responsible posts. According to the present criteria, SR Serbia has been excessively represented in the SSIP, since all the auxiliary personnel were included in the count, people who are hired on the basis of competition and are recruited mostly from Belgrade and the vicinity, since there are not enough people in other parts of the country interested in that work schedule, those personal incomes, opportunities for housing, prospects for employing spouses, etc. Otherwise, according to the criterion of representation of the republics and provinces in diplomatic and consular personnel, SR Serbia has the appropriate number of positions. Here again are a few figures:

Number of SFRY Ambassadors Appointed From 1976 to 1987

Total	From Bosnia-Herzegovina	From Montenegro	From Croatia	From Macedonia	From Slovenia	From Serbia Proper	From Kosovo	From Vojvodina
322	50	44	48	41	39	52	20	28
Present Situation								
85	12	12	12	10	9	13	6	11

In spite of the high requirements which have been clearly set forth with respect to education, specialization, and other attributes, intervention from the republics and provinces continues to operate concerning hiring in the SSIP, and sometimes it takes the form of real pressure. Although many candidates are mercilessly eliminated in the foreign language examinations, and even the SFRY State Presidency insists on consistent enforcement of its decision on the conditions for hiring and appointment in the diplomatic and consular department, there are still cases when some official from a republic or province or from federal bodies and organizations is imposed "to fill the quota," or on the basis of varied reasoning, either to a position in the diplomatic and consular department or to some technical auxiliary service, without going through the necessary examinations and vetting with respect to the criteria in effect.

The insufficient response of personnel from SR Slovenia to meet the needs of the required representation in the SSIP is a problem in itself. This is the only federal unit which has instituted supplemental personal incomes and special supplements for its personnel to work in the SSIP. The universal principle of the equality of citizens

of the SFRY and the principle of "the same pay for the same work" have succumbed to the necessity that someone from Slovenia decide to move to Belgrade and to transfer to the diplomatic and consular department of the SFRY.

In 1981 the budget of the SSIP amounted to \$83 million, but in 1987 it was only \$42 million. Even that drastically reduced amount was not furnished entirely or on time, and some missions and their staffs were unable to meet obligations for rent, electricity, and so on, since their salaries were several months late. This was followed by another 5-percent optimization of expenditures, which applied to all the area divisions of the Federal Executive Council. The entire budget of our diplomatic and consular service, in the estimate of knowledgeable people in the SSIP, is about 5 percent of the total expenditures of our foreign trade network abroad. "But they also earn money," we reply. "The SSIP also brings in about \$14 million of revenues from consular fees and other sources," we were told by responsible people in Knez Milos Street in Belgrade.

The restrictions are truly on the critical verge. Entertainment barely keeps up with the most minimal scope of

celebrating state holidays and important meetings abroad. PTT expenditures have been cut back 30 percent by order, and whoever fails to achieve that pays the difference out of his pocket. The permitted levels of rent that are paid are being reduced, people are being required to move to cheaper neighborhoods—which is not unfeasible—and something similar is being prepared for school tuition, the use of personal automobiles and the like, and the filling of many staff vacancies is being postponed for several months in order to save a few monthly salaries. Certainly, the work is suffering. Personal incomes represent about 77 percent of the expenditures of the SSIP, and very little remains for the needs of development. The entire motor pool of the SSIP consists of 30 vehicles whose use has been radically curtailed. And so on.

If it has to be done, better to do it. However, it is only a step from an excessively parsimonious diplomacy to a diplomacy that is orphaned, unmotivated, and below standard. Will the SSIP remain far enough from that downhill slide, with the help and understanding of the republics and provinces, or—again with their “help”—will it actually take that slide?

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Controversy Over Maximum Farm Landholding Reviewed

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[Article by Dr Vlada Ugrincic: “Being Realistic Even With the Maximum Landholding”]

[Text] The maximum landholding, as a mostly political creation, was a taboo topic right up until 3 or 4 years ago, which is why there have not been any serious initiatives for its possible revision or elimination. In the last years, however, in the atmosphere that has been created of critical reassessment of many arrangements in the system, in legislation, and the Constitution and the removal of many taboos, a fate that has not bypassed the maximum landholding either. Not only has the taboo been removed from it, but the further the discussion has progressed, the more it has become a kind of fashionable hit, a topic gladly raised both by interested individuals and also by the news media.

Some of the results of this discussion which is now going on have been reflected in the Draft of Amendments to the SFRY Constitution, in which Amendment 18 provides that the size of the maximum landholding would be set down in federal law and would represent an area that could not be less than 15 hectares.

Exaggerations

It should be said that in the discussion of the maximum landholding to date, especially at the beginning, there have been various exaggerations, one-sided portrayal,

and overemphasis of the importance of the problem. In some discussions the maximum landholding has been treated like a priority issue whose radical resolution by some magical formula or gold key will in one stroke clear away most of the problems in development of the private sector of agriculture, which, of course, is pure illusion. Only recently have certain efforts been noticeable to examine the problem more comprehensively and with reliance on somewhat broader argumentation.

Our country's agriculture, especially in the private sector, is burdened by many problems more difficult and important than the question of the maximum landholding. A professionally conducted survey (and that is the minimum that should have been done before the discussion of the maximum landholding flared up) would most probably show that private farmers, viewed as a whole, are more interested in solving the problems of improving their economic position, establishing equal, stable, and stimulative conditions for agriculture, and security in their production and on the market, than in the question of the maximum landholding. The successful organization of private farmers through cooperatives, cooperation, and other forms, their broader involvement in socially organized production, and this way of solving the question of increasing the production and income of private farmers and their economic and social security, also has higher priority and more importance for the community and for private farmers than the question of the maximum landholding. In the context of what we have said, the issue of a possible change of the maximum landholding would come in its importance rather at the foot than the head of the list of current problems of our agriculture. I do not mean by that to deny the importance of this problem from the economic, social welfare, public, and political standpoint, nor the need to study it and resolve it appropriately, but it is proving to be necessary to “bring down to earth” the problem of demystification and to locate its importance on a realistic scale.

Deciding “for” or “against” the present maximum landholding is made essentially more difficult by the fact that these initiatives were taken before the appropriate studies were done to provide a scientifically sound basis for finding optimum solutions and making the optimum decisions. Our private sector of agriculture has not been sufficiently researched. However, it is essentially important to study, to conduct a differentiated examination, and to learn about the behavior of private farms as a function of the size of the landholding and the type of household so that should there be a change in the size of the maximum landholding, a more reliable assessment might be made as to what would happen and what consequences would occur in production, on the market, in the domain of employment, trends in social welfare, etc. Answers to these questions are mainly not known, and this then leads inevitably to making improvised decisions which do not have an adequate professional and scientific basis and involve many risks and unforeseeable consequences.

On behalf of a broader and fuller elucidation and more comprehensive examination of the problem, we need to critically examine the reasons and arguments "for" and "against" changing the present maximum landholding.

In support of the thesis that an appreciable increase or complete elimination of the maximum landholding is needed the main arguments made are the following effects that would be achieved thereby: the larger size of the landholding, which would contribute to a growth of total production and especially production for the market of the private sector; more optimum use of the farm machinery that has accumulated in the private sector; higher motivation of young people to remain in rural areas and engage in farming as an occupation; greater interest of our workers returning from abroad to invest sizable savings to augment and improve agricultural production, to specialize production, and on that basis to reduce costs per unit output; more complete and better-quality cultivation of the land of households whose members are elderly and also other pieces of land which are being cultivated poorly or not at all and whose area varies annually from 500,000 to 1 million hectares.

Consolidation of the otherwise very fragmented and splintered landholding in the private sector is put forth as one of the main advantages to support the argument that the maximum landholding should be abolished. However, we must free ourselves of any illusions in this respect and face the fact that the size of the landholding will increase only in the higher size categories, while at the same time there will be a further splintering of the landholding in the lower size categories. At one and the same time, then, we would have consolidation on the one hand and fragmentation on the other, and the pattern would be such that for every farm that was consolidated there would be at least 10 that would be tinier than they have been up to now. On the one hand the problem is mitigated, on the other it is aggravated.

No one has calculated what would be gained and what would be lost on an overall balance sheet. This ought to be shown by a study done in interdisciplinary research, and in addition to answering a number of relevant questions, it should also show which size categories tend more to buy land and which tend more to sell land. Accordingly, aside from the polarization into the larger farms on the one hand and an increased number of tiny farms with an ever smaller average size on the other, we could not anticipate any improvement in the size pattern of the private sector as a whole, which under present conditions is characterized by an average farm size of 2.3 hectares of its own land and 3.5 hectares of total land used, comprising between six and eight parcels with an average size less than 0.5 hectare and often scattered over large distances from one another. Most of the private sector continues to exist in the context of the fragmented and inefficient size pattern, and that will have to be dealt with with other measures, primarily through a radical change of inheritance legislation.

It is very debatable whether increasing or eliminating the maximum landholding will result in an increase in the total agricultural production or total production for the market of the private sector. The private sector's total land area would not increase; what is more, it is shrinking from year to year; only property relations would change. Farm machinery, viewed in terms of the number of tractors that are privately owned, is already out of proportion to the area of land in the private sector, and the manpower, which represents a latent surplus, would not increase either. If the basic factors of production: land, machines, and manpower—will not increase, what is it then that can contribute to increasing production? There remains the possibility and assumption that the farms with a larger landholding will apply a higher level of intensiveness of production (using more manufactured fertilizers and the like), and on that basis would achieve higher production per unit area.

Yet there is no reliable basis for such an expectation. What is more, there are some signs that the opposite is happening. That is, that farms in the lower size categories are producing more intensively and achieving better results per unit area, whereby they offset the lower size of their landholding. Farms with a considerably larger landholding have less motivation for intensive production, since they can achieve larger production per household than farms in the lower size categories with smaller investments per unit area. However, this operates in the direction of a reduction rather than a growth of agricultural production in the private sector as a whole, and so in a sense it also runs counter to the argument about the increased proportion grown for the market. It is logical to expect that farms with a larger landholding will achieve a volume of production considerably greater than their own subsistence needs, which will make it possible for them to deliver more goods for the market, but we should mention that the effects of a larger proportion of output grown for the market will be manifested more evidently only in the largest size categories, while effects in the private sector as a whole, should there be any, will depend on the degree of influence of the negative trends already mentioned.

A Mere Increase

Conditions will be created on the larger landholding for more complete employment and thereby also more optimum use of agricultural machines, which can occur only in the larger size categories and at the expense of deteriorated conditions for the use of machinery in the lower size categories, which through the sale of land will not to the same degree free themselves of the tractor as a means of production for the remaining holding. The private sector as a whole would hardly have anything to gain thereby. What is more, there are certain important remarks we need to make at this point.

First, the optimality of use of agricultural machinery is influenced much more by the size of the parcel and the extent to which they are grouped together than by the

size of the landholding. Merely increasing the size of the landholding of various categories of private farms, unless at the same time there is a more effective solution to the problem of their being terribly scattered in the private sector, in which holdings consist of countless dwarf-sized parcels, offers practically no gain at all.

Second, since 1967, when the Basic Law on Owning Agricultural Implements by Individuals made it possible to freely buy and keep tractors and other major farm implements as private property, through the large-scale purchase of tractors private farmers have consciously undertaken a risk, knowing in advance that on a holding of 10 hectares or less they will not come close to being adequately utilized and that the problem will have to be moderated by providing services to farmers who do not have tractors and also by rendering nonagricultural services. Accordingly, it is not true that it is only recently that the maximum landholding has "become cramped" for fuller utilization of agricultural machinery, as people often like to present the matter, but rather this has been a problem for more than 20 years, that is, since the very beginning of the speedier "tractorization" of private farms.

Third, tractors are owned not only by farms in the higher size categories, but more or less uniformly by all size categories, and indeed even those without land possessed 2,589 tractors according to the 1981 Census, at a time when all the agricultural cooperatives in the country had fewer than 2,000 tractors. According to that same census, more than half of the farms with over 8 hectares of land did not have tractors(!). We should add to that that the ratio of about 14 hectares per tractor in the private sector, which creates the impression of there being too many tractors, is only one side of the picture about the adequacy of tractors in the private sector. It is almost overlooked that more than 70 percent of the households with a farming operation have no tractors at all and either make frequent use of the "high-priced" services of the far less numerous tractor owners or the services of machinery of the socialized sector set aside for that purpose, which are inadequate, or the outdated, primitive, and extensive cultivation by horse teams, whose number is dropping rapidly.

We do not know how much land is owned by farmers without tractors, since our statistics do not keep records on this. We can arrive indirectly at a rough estimate (on the basis of the 1981 Census) that we are talking about an area between 3.5 and 4 million hectares, which represents 45-50 percent of the total cropland of the private sector. All of this essentially changes the prevailing notion of there being too much farm machinery in the private sector and of the maximum landholding being a restrictive factor preventing fuller utilization of these means of production, since this problem is posed in an altogether different light on almost half of the area of the private sector, which is crying out for cultivation with up-to-date machinery.

In Reality It Is Difficult

The members of the young generation, especially from families with many children, are showing an understandable interest in raising or eliminating the maximum. That way they might obtain by inheritance at the outset an area of land which otherwise, under present conditions, they could obtain only by purchase over many years of labor and effort. The importance of keeping young people in rural areas and in agriculture to higher employment, improvement of the otherwise unfavorable age-specific composition of the farm labor force, to reduction of the transfer from rural areas to the city and pressure for new jobs in nonfarm activities, would support the argument of raising or doing away with the maximum landholding. However, according to the figures given in the Long-Term Program for Development of Agroindustrial Production, we are talking here about only 25 percent of rural households which have heirs on the farm, while 40 percent of rural households do not have young people who would remain on the farm, and the other 35 percent are sending their children to school to learn nonfarm occupations.

A mere increase or elimination of the maximum landholding without fundamental or radical improvement of the economic position and stable and equal conditions for agriculture to conduct its economic activity will not increase the interest of our workers returning from abroad to invest in agriculture. Evaluating the overall situation realistically, even in the case of elimination of the maximum landholding, it is difficult to suppose in any foreseeable future that this portion of the economic potential of our population will be employed to a greater degree in agriculture.

The specialization of production and reduction of costs per unit output can be achieved effectively even within the limits of the present maximum. The specialization of production in agriculture is dependent upon other factors more than the size of the landholding, such as the modernization of production, the level of its intensiveness, supreme product quality, unhindered continuity of all the phases in the process of reproduction, and so on. It is also essential to mention that the specialization of production in agriculture, because of its numerous specific features, contains a number of risks and limitations which we cannot enter into here at greater length.

The expectation that an increase or elimination of the maximum landholding would contribute to fuller and better-quality cultivation of the land held by households whose members are elderly is based in part on the assumption that under the new conditions more of this land would be purchased by farmers interested in increasing their landholding. However, there is no certain basis for such expectations, since for households of elderly people, regardless of their age and weakness, having their own land nevertheless represents a safe and lifelong source of subsistence. In the extreme case the land is leased out, probably rather than selling it and

putting the money in the bank. As for those 500,000 to 1 million hectares which figure every year as "uncultivated plowland and fallow," sufficient study has not been done, so that we do not have a sufficient knowledge of all the factors involved in the occurrence of this large area of uncultivated land.

As far as is known, however, there is indication that in a large number of cases these are small remote parcels grown up in weeds, under water, saline, infertile, various tips and heels of irregular shape, undesirable configuration, and so on, and therefore unsuitable and unprofitable for cultivation.

There are certain things supporting the argument that the present maximum landholding of 10 hectares should not be changed. I will indicate the most important ones.

Increasing the landholding is not the only way of increasing agricultural production. That is the extensive strategy. The other strategy, the one that is desirable under our conditions, a method that has by no means been sufficiently utilized, is to increase production through intensification, through larger investment, and through attainment of higher yields per unit capacity on that basis (per hectare or per head of livestock). It is well-known that in the use of manufactured fertilizers, one of the most important factors in increasing the yields of plant crops, we are in last place in Europe. If there were an increase from the present 75 kg of active ingredients of manufactured NPK fertilizers per hectare of cropland in the private sector to about 350 kg, which is what scientists in agricultural chemistry estimate to be the optimum under our conditions, the yields of plant crops would more than double. Second, a growth of production, income, and employment within the existing maximum could also be achieved by far greater representation of intensive production, above all animal husbandry and truck farming. If within the limits of the present maximum the large available potentials were utilized for increasing production by applying these methods to intensification of production, the same result would be achieved as though production were extended over 30, 50, or more hectares at the same level of intensiveness as now.

Money and Reproduction

Sizable money resources will be involved in the increased land transactions. Money invested to buy land is lost as a rule to the process of reproduction. Except that the land changes owners, the process of purchase and sale produces no new land, the total stock of land in the private sector is not increased. Instead of being used for productive purposes, for the purchase of equipment for agricultural production, and to improve it and develop it, the money is spent unproductively to buy ownership to land. The previous owner will hardly invest in agricultural production the money he has received for the land he has sold, since he sold the land because he was forced to by need or because he had lost interest in

agriculture. The increased demand will tend to raise the price of land, which will further aggravate the problem of the unproductive commitment of resources. One of the consequences will be the slower process of socialization of land, which is in stagnation anyway.

The inevitable consequence of raising the maximum landholding or doing away with it will be increased rural stratification, accompanied by creation of an ever larger number of private farmers with little or no land who will exert a strong pressure on the city and for jobs in nonfarm activities. In the context of the crisis situation in the country, whose resolution is not visible on the horizon any time soon, this "exodus" from rural areas will be like "pouring oil on the fire," that is, it will tend to further aggravate the already very pronounced problems of unemployment, housing problems, urban planning problems, social welfare problems, and other problems of existence.

Occurrences of exploitation of manpower by the economically strong farmers, which does occur even within the limits of the present maximum landholding, will be more frequent should it be increased, and it will be on a massive scale should it be completely eliminated, and this would already be largely reminiscent of the prewar period of "reapers," of "day laborers," and rural servants. Instead of creating conditions for reduction and ultimate elimination of all exploitation, conditions are created for increasing it, which is in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of our socioeconomic development.

The resolution on prospective development of agriculture and farm cooperatives adopted by the Federal People's Assembly in 1957 set forth the basic principles and strategies for future development of our agriculture and the vehicles and methods of its socialist transformation. These principles were confirmed in the 1958 LCY Program and in all subsequent documents of congresses, policy papers, and documents on development. This has signified the continuity of the farm policy set forth in those terms, whose basic essence lies in the development and strengthening of the socialized sector of agriculture and the gradual socialization of private agriculture by establishing economic cooperation in various forms between the peasants and the socialist farms on the basis of use of large socially owned means of production, accompanied by full respect of the principle of voluntary participation and economic interest, with no forcible encroachment on private ownership of land.

This is a lengthy process, perhaps incomparably longer than was originally estimated, but however long it lasts, its ultimate goal is to build socialist relations in agriculture. The processes that will ensue after a possible elimination of the maximum landholding will in many of its performances signify a move away from that strategic objective.

07045

POLAND

Columnist Offers Supporting Arguments That Reform Under Way

26000347e Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
23-24 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Artur Bodnar: "Reform and Difficulties"]

[Text] In contemporary societies economic matters are strongly interwoven with policies of the State. True, the average citizen does not always perceive this on a day-to-day basis. In Poland and other socialist countries, this interweaving of economics and politics has its own peculiarities. Many of us keenly observe how the present phase of economic reform is proceeding and what the government is doing to promote further action in this regard. There are reports which show that our reform is gradually entering a decisive phase, but with various effects on society.

Large segments of the population at this time are suffering the consequences of reform with considerable pain. The politicians and a large part of the pro-reform public say that we must endure this difficult period of several years, so long as reform does not meet with mass criticism. Will we be able, i.e., will we be strong enough as a people and will the government be resolute and wise enough to skilfully unravel the various entanglements of conflicts and contradictions?

The same questions can be asked in the Soviet Union. The pessimists there even say, in their watchful observance of our experience, that Slavs in general find it easy to build problems, but they also lack the consistency and determination to apply them in a democratic order. This kind of reflection, even if supported by historical argument, is really not worth much cognitively. History does not usually repeat itself when new generations appear and the world around society and its state changes. And anyway, we and the world around us are completely different than we were even 10 years ago.

In what do I perceive the new phenomena which point to the fact that economic reform is developing while creating new economic and social standards? The economic mechanism set into motion last year has now produced a several-fold more rapid rate of growth of export (and import) than industrial production. I regard this phenomenon as lasting for the next few years. Yet some people say that the recent ideas of certain government agencies calling for a drastic reduction in pro-export incentives, in order to balance the budget, may return. Let us hope that this does not happen. The rapid growth of our export was assisted, for example, by putting foreign-currency allowances into order and making them more realistic.

I maintain that foreign-currency allowances for enterprises and the ability to transfer them to subsuppliers was the beginning of putting coproduction in industry

into order. Right now, the dollar from foreign-currency allowances controls coproduction relations in almost half of the industrial enterprises. The ministry of domestic trade is beginning to fulfill a similar role because it has hard currency which it then transfers to enterprises so that they can import indispensable components and produce the goods which are in short supply on the market. This coordinating and supporting role of the above-mentioned ministry should be greatly enhanced in the future. Currently, therefore, hard currency increasingly strengthens economic results and horizontal ties in industry.

At present the high growth rate of export is stripping the domestic market of goods. Managing directors whom we know are saying that an enterprise today is incomparably more independent than a few months ago and makes choices based on the criteria of profit and foreign-exchange allowance. The latter ensures it the necessary quality of production, tolerable relations with its coproducers, and the engineering capability to modernize at least those technological elements which determine the quality and attractiveness of production. That is why directors are waiting for the increase in foreign-currency allowances from 15 percent to 25 percent of production sold abroad, as promised by the government. Here the government should demonstrate great flexibility and not delay matters. The state still has at its disposable a considerable amount of foreign exchange, part of which, through the ministry of domestic trade, should help to improve the supply of consumer market goods (clothing, footwear, etc.), if not in the fall of this year then at the beginning of next year.

Another factor which confirms that reform is underway is the increasingly greater activity of enterprises and private individuals in setting up companies. One enterprise has open production capacity, another has foreign exchange, while the third produces materials which the other two need. There are examples of this in Lodz. Presumably in Gdansk Voivodship about a thousand companies—legal entities and natural persons, are registered or awaiting registration.

Thus, associations of enterprises based on natural economic principles or on profit-and-loss statements are being established. We would like to see this process of economization of our industry develop without bureaucratic obstacles, for this is the only way of correcting the lowest, in Europe, underutilization of production capacity. Industrial companies and in general, companies producing new and better material goods and services are just one form of economically intensive horizontal ties in the economy, so very essential now.

I recall that even 2 or 3 years ago, high state officials considered whether by proceeding more boldly in reforming the economy they would be able to reduce the coproduction anarchy existing in industry at that time, whether they would be able to inspire innovative processes and improve the quality of production. They

really did not see the possibility of stimulating economic processes in accordance with the public interest, in a short or even medium amount of time. In turn, the economists-theoreticians often said that in a socialist economy one cannot rely on self-regulating mechanisms, that the politicization of the economy through central planning, orders and distribution, must be high. Those times were more difficult and there was almost no experience to draw upon. Today we have far more experience and the international situation is more favorable to us than it was then. Urgencies have arisen also, in the face of which various doctrinal stereotypes have become powerless.

Our economic reform is not developing uniformly. If the reader should ask whether there are fields which this reform has not yet touched, then the answer should include, first of all, the labor market. I do not know what needs to be done to eliminate a situation where in the same area or in an adjoining town there is a factory in which there is a shortage of employees for even the first shift, and in another factory there is a large labor force. But we know that a change in labor laws is needed, that economic mechanisms alone will not be enough for restructuring to encompass the sphere of employment.

Employment in the economy is now an extremely neglected field, really one that produces conflicts. In such cases the politicians try to postpone decisions, which does not really surprise me. The bad state of our labor market, which some say still does not exist in Poland, is the legacy of past decades.

Back in the 1970's it was said: Work, and we will think for you. In return for not interfering with the government and how it ruled, everyone obtained a job and was required to be there, obtaining a social wage in return. He could also quit a job in a given plant and go to a neighboring one. Of course I am simplifying, but let us not forget that each year 2 to 2.5 million people change jobs, and perhaps by doing so they are getting more money, but because of this the economy is suffering enormous losses. How can this be changed for the good of everyone?

I think that employment should be based on contract rules. What is necessary, therefore, is a drastic restructuring of wages similar to that of the recent reform in prices. An engineer should earn two to three times more than a highly skilled worker, while the majority of us should receive a wage which makes it possible to maintain ourselves and our families on a modest level. Is this possible? Certainly, even as early as the mid-1990's, but with a different organization of labor in the economy and the administration.

The people associate reform with better order, which will not take place, and reform will "blur" in public awareness if the administration of all kinds of public matters will not be effective. There must be more administrative

discipline as regards enterprises, offices and citizens. Unfortunately, we generally demand too little of ourselves and therefore we demand too little of others, both in the workplace and in public life. Yet we can come out of the crisis only through our own internal strength. Then, and only then, can all help from abroad—and certainly we are getting a lot of it, both from the East and the West—increase the benefits of our national modernization and be effectively perceived by all of us.

The reader may charge that I underestimate the need for further political reforms. I wrote about them many times, including in ZYCIE. Economic reform must find its support in political reform, and the converse. An example of this is the Sejm's work on the updating of an entire set of laws on people's councils, which as the organs of state authority are also supposed to obtain broad economic rights. Awaiting registration throughout the country are probably hundreds of all kinds of societies which express the civic aspirations of various social groups.

Many examples can be cited. Of one thing I am sure: if social change and modernization are to take place in Poland, we must completely relinquish the after-crisis neurosis of powerlessness.

9295

New Form of Auctions for Foreign Currency Resources

26000335c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
5 Apr 88 p 9

[Information on auctions for foreign currency resources for the import of raw materials and supplies from the second payments zone [convertible currencies] (special auctions)]

[Text] In addition to the currency auctions arranged by the Export Development Bank, which have been held for a year, this year a new form of auctions is being introduced for foreign currency—special auctions.

The introduction of special auctions is one form of implementing the gradual discontinuance of the central distribution of foreign currency, envisaged in the second stage of economic reform. Special auctions are aimed at directing funds allocated for the import of specified commodities to those enterprises which are managed with the greatest efficiency.

The auctions are for foreign currency for the import of 21 commodity groups (e.g., wool yarn, cotton yarn, wool, commercial tobacco, and some raw materials and supplies for the chemical industry). If the special auctions do what is expected of them, next year a wider range of commodities will be included.

The object of the auctions will be a special auction contract (SAC), which is a right to purchase foreign currency for the import of the above-mentioned commodities. The purchase costs of the SAC are charged to the buyer's extraordinary losses. This is a solution identical to that of the auctions now being arranged by the Export Development Bank, which are supposed to prevent overbidding on auction contracts.

The obtained rights can be exercised immediately upon making payment for imports according to the currency exchange rates in effect at that time. In the case of import at prices lower than those envisaged or in the case of a drop in the size of the import, the money saved can be used to import those same commodities the following year. This makes import more efficient through a reduction in the consumption of raw materials and supplies obtained in return for convertible currencies, and through the use of cheaper substitutes or cheaper sources of procurement.

The limited liability company INVESTEXPORT enterprise will arrange the auctions. The date and place of the auctions will be announced to the public in the company's communiques.

Although it is assumed that all interested units will be able to take part in limited liability company INVESTEXPORT enterprise will arrange the auctions. The date and place of the auctions will be announced to the public in the company's communiques.

Although it is in the auctions without restriction, during the first year only those units will be able to participate which last year imported through the central distribution system.

The special auctions are being instituted by an order, signed on 30 March 1988, of the ministers of finance, foreign economic relations, domestic market, and the president of the Polish National Bank, on the rules and procedures for selling, through special auctions, the right to purchase foreign currency for the import of raw materials and supplies. The order will be published in MONITOR POLSKI.

9295

New Rules on Currency Circulation in Socialized Economic Units

26000335a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
5 Apr 88 p 9

[Communique of the Ministries of Finance and Foreign Economic Relations]

[Text] In connection with the many pronouncements pertaining to the transfer of foreign currency between units in the socialized economy, the Ministry of Finance and Foreign Economic Relations presents its position in this matter as follows:

1. The transfer of foreign currency between socialized economic units is based on the provisions of sec 10, par 1 of Council of Ministers Resolution No 193 dated 8 December 1986 on the detailed rules for creating and using foreign currency allowances from receipts in convertible currencies and in clearing of accounts with the second payments area (MONITOR POLSKI No 35, 1986, item 266, and in 1988, No 4, item 35) whereby an "organization which has a foreign currency allowance account transfers part of the funds accumulated in the account to coproducers and other units which are collaborating with it in the implementation of production, based on an agreement concluded between them on the production of finished products."

2. The ability to transfer foreign currency between units collaborating in production was instituted having in mind such allocation of these funds as would permit them to be utilized efficiently, and especially to improve coproduction ties. Towards this end, enterprises—as the regulation states—may enter into concrete agreements on mutual obligations which promote better utilization of manufacturing capacity, joint financing of investment ventures, and improvement in the flow of supplies, i.e., the elimination of "bottlenecks" in the production processes. The agreements may pertain to combining funds for purchases from import (which makes it possible to reduce prices and improves the supply process). They may also facilitate the import of goods which undergo further processing in order to utilize domestic potential to finish them, or conversely—to limit export to semi-finished products which, after further processing, provide larger foreign-currency revenues.

3. The transfer of foreign currency is the consequence of the obtaining by economic units of the right to dispose of these funds. It is closely connected with the process of the decentralized financing of imports. This was reflected in the Sejm resolution on a program for the implementation of the second stage of economic reform, which states that efficient utilization of funds for import "requires a larger range of free foreign currency turnovers and a reduction in the central distribution of foreign currency."

4. The flow of foreign currency is an important condition in the cooperation of enterprises. Many economic units correctly understand and utilize the right, ensuing therefrom, to transfer funds. They enter into bilateral and multilateral agreements providing for the transfer of foreign currency for investment and production purposes in exchange for adapting the size and structure of deliveries to the needs of the purchasers. This action is in accordance with the letter and the intent of the permission embodied in Council of Ministers Resolution No 193, dated 8 December 1986.

5. The provision of this resolution clearly states that transfer of foreign currency is based on an agreement pertaining to the production of finished goods. However,

without legal bases are demands for a return of foreign-currency input or payment, in foreign currency, of a portion of the amount due, set forth as an absolute condition for obtainment of delivery of goods or services from a unit not collaborating in production, and especially as relates to the health service, education, domestic trade, municipal management, and housing construction. This may also be deemed to be monopolistic practice within the meaning of Art 8, par 1, of the law dated 28 January 1987 on combating monopolistic practices in the national economy (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 3, item 18).

6. A demand for return of foreign-currency input, if it does not ensue from an agreement entered into on collaboration in production, is therefore not in accordance with the provision of par 10 of Council of Ministers Resolution No 193 and Art 11 of the law dated 22 November 1983 on foreign currency (DZIENNIK USTAW No 63, item 288), for it indicates that the activity is occurring without foreign currency permission and forms a basis for the application of sanctions as described in Art 60 of the financial statute dated 26 October 1971 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 22, 1984, item 103, and in 1985, No 23, item 100).

7. In cases when negotiations between enterprises pertaining to the conditions of collaboration in production do not bring favorable results as a result of the application of monopolistic practices, the damaged party has the right to appeal to the Minister of Finance as the anti-monopoly organ, who according to the provisions of the 28 January 1987 law on combating monopolistic practices, may institute anti-monopoly proceedings. Monopolistic practices are regarded to be, in particular, making the signing of an agreement contingent upon transfer, by the contracting party, of foreign currency for purposes not connected with the agreement. There is no connection with the agreement when:

—for performance of the contract by the producer of the goods (or unit providing services) no foreign currency of any kind is essential,

—the demands of the producer exceed the actually incurred foreign-currency outlays for the production of goods or rendering of services,

—the import by the producer, indispensable to the production of goods or rendering of services, was financed out of central funds.

8. If the coproducer refuses to deliver a product and exports it instead of delivering it to a domestic purchaser—despite the offer by the purchaser to return the foreign-currency benefits and other benefits stemming from the lost export, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations may refuse to grant a permit for the export of this goods, if the fact of this refusal is reported by the

interested parties. This may also be regarded as a violation of Art 9 of the law dated 28 January 1987 on combating monopolistic practices in the national economy

9. The transfer of foreign currency between enterprises is an action which supplements the basic elements of the decentralized system of providing foreign currency for import. This system includes gradually increased foreign-currency allowances, currency exchange rate auctions at the Export Development Bank, soon-to-be-instituted special auctions (in place of central financing of import of some goods), foreign exchange credits, and funds from the Fund for Structural Changes in Industry. This system enables the producers of the finished products to gradually improve their collaboration with coproducers in the financing of import.

9295

Hard-Currency Entitlement Auctions Detailed
26000335b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
5 Apr 88 p 9

[Instructions of the Ministries of Foreign Economic Relations, Finance, and Domestic Trade, and the president of the National Bank of Poland, dated 30 March 1988, regarding the rules and procedures governing the special auctions of authorization for the purchase of foreign currency for the import of raw materials and supplies]

[Text] Based on sec 5, par 3 of Council of Ministers Resolution No 124 dated 19 July 1985 regarding the rules and procedures for the obtainment of raw materials and supplies during 1986-1990 (MONITOR POLSKI, 1986, No 5, item 52),

Paragraph 1

The import of raw materials and supplies from the second payments area, hereinafter called "commodities," listed in the national annual plans, financed out of a sum allocated for special auctions, is done on the basis of rights obtained through such auctions.

Paragraph 2

1. The arranging and conducting of auctions is entrusted to the enterprise INVESTEXPORT Pro-Export Investment Consulting Office Co., hereinafter called INVEST-EXPORT, according to the rules described in paragraphs 2-7.

2. The time and place of the auction is announced to the public in an INVESTEXPORT communique.

3. The object of the auction is to obtain a special auction contract, hereinafter called SAC, giving the right to purchase foreign currency intended exclusively for the financing of the commodities listed in par B of Annex 3

to Council of Ministers Resolution No 24 on the rules and procedures for the obtainment of raw materials and supplies for the years 1986-1990 (MONITOR POLSKI, 1988, No 5, item 52).

4. The nominal value of the SACs, expressed in foreign currency, are different for specific commodities and should correspond to the value of the commodity lot customarily appearing in international trade.

5. The total amount of the SAC nominal values for specific commodities cannot exceed the amount specified in the central annual plans.

6. The price of the SAC is fixed in zlotys. The opening bid is zero and in the case of an auction the bidding is incremental until a selling price for the SAC is obtained.

7. The purchaser of the SAC pays for it to the account of the Commercial Bank in Warsaw.

8. INVESTEXPORT gives the purchaser (after he has paid for the SAC and paid the commission due INVESTEXPORT for the work connected with arranging and conducting the auction) a certificate stating that he has the right to purchase foreign currency intended for the import of specified commodities.

9. The dates, method of arranging, and the detailed procedures and conditions for conducting auctions and the documentation that this entails, are described in the auction rules, issued by the managing director of INVESTEXPORT, which should take into account the peculiarities of the particular commodities.

Paragraph 3

The purchaser of the SAC charges its price to extraordinary losses.
Paragraph 4

1. The payment order in the import of commodities covered by auctions is executed by the Commercial Bank in Warsaw. The certificate on the obtainment of an SAC, referred to in sec 2, par 8, is attached to the payment order.

2. The purchaser buys the foreign currency in the Commercial Bank in Warsaw at the time the payment order is executed, in accordance with the exchange rates in effect, as determined by the president of the Polish National Bank, on the day of purchase.

3. Commodities are imported according to the rules and procedures binding on import transactions.

Paragraph 5

The rights to purchase foreign currency not used in a given year can be used the following year.

Paragraph 6

The participants of auctions in 1988 are those units which in 1987 were entitled to obtain commodities through centrally financed import, now covered by special auctions.

Paragraph 7

The order goes into effect on 1 April 1988.

9295

Decree Changing State Enterprise to Company Status Published

26000365a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (REFORMA GOSPODARCZA Supplement) in Polish
No 125 3 Mar 88 p III

["Ordinance of 8 February 1988 of the Council of Ministers Amending the Implementing Regulations of the Decree on State Enterprises"]

[Text] Pursuant to Articles 24 and 30 of the Decree of 25 September 1981 on State Enterprises (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 201, No 35, 1987), the following is hereby ordered:

Section 1

Chapter 4 of the Ordinance of 30 November 1981 of the Council of Ministers on Implementing the Decree on State Enterprises (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 170, No 31, 1981; Item 213, No 37, 1987) is complemented with Chapter 4a, whose text runs as follows:

Paragraph 51a.

The dissolution of the enterprise with the object of founding a company, hereinafter referred to as "conversion," consists in transforming its organizational-legal form without terminating its economic activities.

Paragraph 51b.

1. The joint recommendation for conversion, addressed to the parent agency by the enterprise's worker council and director, should contain:

1) an economic substantiation of the proposed conversion;

2) the name of the entity assuming the liabilities and obligations of the enterprise, including personnel obligations.

2. Appended to the recommendation should be a draft agreement for forming the company, or the statute of a joint-stock company.

Paragraph 51c.

Before approving the conversion of the enterprise to a company, the parent agency conducts preliminary proceedings pursuant to Article 13 of the decree on state enterprises.

Paragraph 51d.

If the parent agency approves the conversion, it defines the conditions for that conversion. In particular, it defines the manner in which the claims of creditors and the personnel obligations of the converted enterprise are to be satisfied.

Paragraph 51e.

1. Proceedings for conversion are handled by the enterprise director upon notifying the appropriate Treasury office and the bank financing the activities of the enterprise that he has commenced these proceedings.

2. As part of the proceedings referred to above, the following steps are required, in particular:

1) the preparation of a balance sheet and an itemized list of the property of the converted enterprise in order to determine its assets and liabilities.

2) the notification, by advertising in the press, of creditors of the converted enterprise, asking them to submit their claims;

3) the preparation of a list of claims of the creditors of the converted enterprise along with information on how these claims are to be satisfied.

Paragraph 51f.

The conclusion an agreement to form a company, the signing the company's statute, and the distribution of shares, are subject to the appropriate provisions governing representativeness.

Paragraph 51g.

The application for deleting an enterprise from the registry of enterprises is to be submitted to a court on the day that the new company is registered.

Section 2

This Ordinance is effective as of the day of its publication.

1386

UNIONTEX Production Numbers Increase

26000347b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
26 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] (Based on PAP dispatch) The total replacement of machines in the Wastes Spinning Mills of the Defenders of Peace Cotton Industry Plants in Lodz took 2 years. Yarn production will increase by 3,500 tons a year, and the importation of expensive cotton will also be reduced. The modernization of the UNIONTEX spinning mill, which went into operation on the 25th of this month, is another example of consistent measures being taken, albeit not without difficulty, to expand and modernize light industry.

9295

Sejm Economic TWIG Society Meets

26000347c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
27 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] The Society for the Support of Economic Initiatives (TWIG), organized at the instigation of the Socio-economic Council in the Sejm, has been functioning for almost 4 months. Voivodship chapters of the Society are springing up rapidly. Another, the 13th chapter, just began its activities in Warsaw.

The charter meeting held on 25 April established two main goals for the Warsaw TWIG chapter: to enable every member to fulfill his strivings and aspirations, and to revitalize the voivodship's economy.

At the meeting, a 21-person Voivodship Council was elected, with Andrzej Kalwas president, Jan Maciej and Kazimierz Grabek vice-presidents, and Lech Koncewicz secretary.

9295

Artificial Fertilizer Production Up

26000347d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] The program for the expansion and modernization of the Polish artificial-fertilizer industry envisages that by 1990 production will be high enough to meet agriculture's needs sufficiently to raise mineral fertilizers from the present level, i.e., 192 kg/ha, to 214 (in pure ingredients). In the years that follow, it is expected that production will further increase to 230-250 kg/ha. This is conditioned on on-time completion of new investments as well as on modernization of existing plants. These matters were discussed on 27 April at an inter-ministry conference in the "Police" factories.

9295

Soviet-Polish Potato Processing Production
26000347a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] (Based on PAP dispatch) Joint Polish-Soviet multiplant potato processing in Biala Podlaska Voivodship was the subject of a meeting held on 28 April in that voivodship. Representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy and other ministry and central offices, met with the political and administrative authorities of Biala Podlaska Voivodship. During the meeting, which was conducted by minister Stanislaw Zieba, it was stated that this undertaking will help to develop and modernize raw materials facilities and stimulate production in the region.

9295

ROMANIA

Oil Drilling, Exploration Technology Discussed
27000076 Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian
No 15, 9 Apr 88 p 2

[Interviews with Pantazi Ion, second chief researcher, head of the Recovery Enhancement Section, and secretary of the RCP Committee; Dr Eng Truica Vasile, third chief scientific researcher and head of the Laboratory for Electrical Engineering Processes in Drilling Wells and Extracting Crude Oil; and Dr Eng Tatu Grigore, third chief scientific researcher at the Research and Design Institute for Oil and Gas Technology, by Paul Ioan]

[Text] Better exploitation of petroleum and natural gas deposits is one of the major goals set in the documents approved at the 13th RCP Congress, and in the present stage of Romania's development, it will help to secure national energy independence and to reach the stage of a medium developed socialist country in 1990.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his masterly report from the high rostrum of the National Party Conference, "We must take all measures to implement petroleum and mining production efficiently and to secure the efficiency of the national energy system by completing all the investment programs and modernizing the operations of the petroleum, mining and energy industries."

Closely integrated in production and meeting all the requirements for greater efficiency and productivity in each sector of the national economy, the researchers and designers in the field of drilling for and working the petroleum and natural gas deposits are concentrating on increasing production by applying the most improved technologies and equipment and thereby helping to carry out the national energy programs. Alongside coal, water-power resources and nuclear energy (in the near future), crude oil and gases are valuable sources of raw materials for chemistry and energy engineering and have major implications for economic activity.

The Cimpina ICPPG [Research and Design Institute for Oil and Gas Technology] is a basic unit in technical-scientific activity of this kind, and it is a great help both in determining the most effective ways to modernize the technologies for working the deposits and in the directly productive activity of the oil fields and petroleum trusts using advanced extractive processes. Over 40 percent of the whole activity is performed in its branches, from the design stage to finished exploitation, and it has direct operational connections with PETROMAR.

The Cimpina ICPPG's main tasks and operational objectives are discovery and exploitation of new oil and gas deposits, studies on technologies for drilling and operating the wells, and the most efficient exploitation of the deposits for purposes of enhancing the recoveries of hydrocarbons from those deposits. It is also intended to treat the fluids at worksites by the methods this collective has perfected and to prepare them for shipping and use. With the aid of the specialists here we shall try to specify the most important aspects of modernization of the technologies for economic exploitation of one of Romania's most valuable raw material resources.

Measures To Enhance the Final Recovery Factor for Oil in Deposits

As Academician Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu said in her speech at the Plenum of the National Council for Science and Education, "Enhancement of the final recovery factor in oil extraction will be a major aim, and the factor is to reach at least 42 percent in 1988, while research will help to increase the efficiency of depth drilling as well as the extraction of hydrocarbons from the Black Sea continental shelf." In this connection, we asked Pantazi Ion to give us some examples of the main efforts of the workers collective in his distinguished unit.

[Answer] The geologic complications and in general the diverse characteristics of each deposit call for a wide variety of methods, technologies and equipment that have to be continually improved to get the most efficient and effective recoveries. The researchers and designers at our institute are expected to determine the best measures promptly, which may differ very greatly from one case to another. We can say that the world's latest and most viable recovery methods are used in the strategy for working the deposits, and they are adjusted to the distinctive features of each deposit.

[Question] Since there is a certain uniformity in the ways the earth's crust hides its oil from one area to another and in the intrinsic physical-chemical properties of the oil, please tell us what the modern technologies are that you are using to enhance the final recovery factor.

[Answer] First I would like to mention a method suited to reserves of heavy viscous oil, the primary extraction of which leads to low recoveries, and that is underground combustion. The Cimpina ICPPG developed this technology for testing and specific applications, and our

collective also participated in controlling and directing the operations. The principle of the method consists of heating and controlled burning of part of the oil, activated by injection of air. This lessens the viscosity and facilitates the conveyance of the fluids, and some of the combustible gases are recovered at the same time. We may mention the fact that at Suplacul de Barcau, where one of the most extensive uses in the world has been made of this technology, the recovery factor was considerably increased to 50 percent from the 9 percent obtained by the primary methods. Besides the process properly speaking, the institute also designed and made the equipment for activating combustion, which will also be used at Videle-Balaria, where the industrial stage has been started. In using this advanced technology, our specialists and those at the oil fields have to solve problems of the corrosion that affects the equipment in the wells and that for conveying the fluid products.

Steam injection is another modern process used in our efforts, and it is also applicable to viscous oils. But in order to lower the energy inputs needed for these methods, we have to determine the most efficient ways of generating steam on the spot and accordingly even in the wells. High-purity carbon dioxide can also be injected, depending on the overall efficiency of the process.

[Question] What other modern methods are under investigation, and how can they make exploitation of the deposits most profitable?

[Answer] The so-called chemical methods, which consist of displacing as much oil as possible from the porous system of the deposits, are being tested jointly with ICECHIM [Central Institute for Chemical Research] and other specialized units. Formulas have also been developed for micellar solutions and certain polymers. In the case of the first technology, an effort is being made toward reduction of the interfacial tension and the washing that is widely practiced throughout the world. They are being used, for example, in Ticleni and Gorj.

[Question] A great many types of microorganisms are already associated with crude oil and some of its products. For example, their capacity to assimilate hydrocarbons and their derivatives or to form them by consuming other cheap nutritive substrata has been studied and applied in the last 20 years especially. Have they also been applied to drilling and extraction?

[Answer] As I have already mentioned, the most improved processes for increasing the final recovery factor are the ones that facilitate on-the-spot preparation of the various agents for liquidizing the oil and displacing it from rocks. To be sure the microorganisms can be converted into "living processing plants" of the deposit. A certain type of culture is injected along with the appropriate nutritive support. The assimilation process leads to formation of gases (carbon dioxide and light hydrocarbons) that facilitate displacement of the oil and its flow toward the well. Studies made in our institute

jointly with the Bucharest Institute for Biological Sciences are aimed at introduction of special microorganisms producing biopolymers, biosurfactants (surface-active agents) and other products. This results in a partial shift of the actions to enhance recoveries to the depth of the earth's crust, with obvious advantages in labor productivity and reduction of energy and material inputs by means of the biotechnologies.

New Equipment and Improved Technologies

The productivity of man's efforts depends on how consistently he improves his tools for more productive collaboration with nature. And for that purpose the Cimpina Institute's specialists have modern, high-performance equipment adapted to the characteristics of each deposit. We asked Dr Eng Truica Vasile for examples of some of the latest achievements.

[Answer] Our design activity in that direction can be particularized as follows: We have designed and built (jointly with the Poiana Cimpina IRMGIP) some new types of high-capacity oil-extraction pumps 2-3 times more durable and reliable than the previous ones. They are in use, for example, at the Moreni, Boldesti and other oil fields. Since we are always interested in lowering energy inputs, we have developed technology and equipment for starting wells with gas-lift valves. To eliminate the idle time caused by recovery and change of the various tools used at the bottom, we have developed technology and equipment to keep supplementing the wells in operation with a gas-lift, using chucks with an eccentric pocket and gas-lift valves recoverable by cable. The new equipment considerably reduces the idle time by performing the respective operations in progress. For wells with operating difficulties caused by excessive gases or sand, we have designed and built a high-performance valve for use with depth pumps that keeps them in operation longer and increases labor productivity accordingly. We can also point to a device, a world first in its field at the present time, for measuring vapor pressures and gasoline density (designed by a collective under chemist Cucuiat Marius) for shipping and storage purposes, a process also patented in the United States.

Advanced Methods in Drilling Technology

The diversity of deposits' characteristics and their variability from one area to another, already mentioned by our informants, requires a real strategy for rationalizing drilling technologies. We asked Dr Eng Tatu Grigore to tell us how the collective in which he works is approaching this problem.

[Answer] The methodology we have worked out, summed up as "the complete description of the stratigraphic columns," determines all the data needed to design the best technology for drilling the wells and to conduct the drilling process efficiently. It includes descriptions both of the rocks (from the surface down to the final depth) and of the fluids in the stratigraphic

column, from the geophysical, mechanical, chemical and other standpoints. This method is useful because it provides the designer with all the information needed for 1) determining the construction plan for the well, 2) the program of the drilling fluids, 3) the program for the drilling bits, 4) the rationalized drilling system (a stage depending heavily on the computers with which our institute is equipped), and 5) determining the measures to prevent complications and accidents and to enhance the security of the wells. Depth drilling (down to 3,500 meters) can be considered a successful application of this method, which is also used in drilling wells on the Black Sea continental shelf.

[Question] Please give us examples of some of the new methods that have considerably increased the efficiency of the drilling process.

[Answer] First I would like to comment on a device that helps to save 30 percent of the energy consumed by the traditional process, namely construction of a discharge amplifier that permits optimal washing conditions at the bottom of a well with no further inputs in the circulation system. Similarly, the device to reduce the hydraulic pressure at the bottoms of wells reduces the pressure exerted during drilling and increases the mechanical

drilling speeds by more than 15 percent. The bottom device without circulation, designed to cross the formations where circulation losses occur and to open up very small deposits, is of considerable help in reducing material consumption. An improved technology has been developed for cementing the tubed columns in a well, in order to meet a requirement vital to the success of a drilling-extraction process.

Being integrated in the efforts made throughout the national economy to make better use of our energy resources, research and design in the field of drilling-extraction process are making an important contribution, in close collaboration with production activity, to enhancement of the final recovery factor for oil in deposits in conformity with the modernization programs in this field. The fact should also be noted that no well at great depth is started without the contribution of computer technology and equipment. Whether it is a question of rationalizing the drilling areas according to the geologic formations found there or of locating the wells in the most suitable positions, the problems of deposit engineering are solved solely by means of electronic computers.

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